

Albee's Old House Robert Brustein

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARY
OCT 5 1966

THE NEW REPUBLIC

October 8, 1966, 35 cents

The Adventures Of Arthur Goldberg

Andrew Kopkind

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Frightened Writer — *Stanley Kauffmann*

Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. — *C. D. B. Bryan*

Below the Belt — *Tom Wicker*

The Creative Business — *Pauline Kael*

SPAPER NEWSPAPER
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
SERIALS DEPT
GUY W. BAILEY
R06C66 R15M56 1Y803 5A6



If you have an appreciation for fine books on the arts—books such as those shown here—a membership in the Seven Arts Book Society will enable you to obtain these and other such books at savings that will continue for as long as you choose to remain a member.

Expertly selected from the overwhelming number of art books published each year—the yield from scores of publishers, both domestic and foreign—are those works that meet the standards of quality Society members have come to take for granted. Then, large printings in the publisher's own edition enable Seven Arts to offer these books at prices up to 60% less than retail.

We invite you to enroll in this unique Society—to reap the benefits of our nearly two decades of experience. You will be afforded the opportunity to obtain the finest books on the arts—lavishly illustrated, handsomely bound and printed books that will most certainly add elegance and beauty to any home.

To introduce you to the many benefits offered by Seven Arts, you may choose any one of the magnificent books listed here for only \$5.00. These recent selections of the Society should give you a clear indication of the excellence you can expect during the course of your membership.

The terms of this offer are simple. You need not purchase a book each month. You need only accept four more of the many outstanding works that will be offered to you at members' savings in the course of the coming year. All books will be explained in your monthly copy of the Seven Arts News in which you will also find special offers enabling you to obtain free books.

Here, truly, is a rare opportunity to add to your home library—conveniently and inexpensively—some of the most magnificent books ever published. Why not accept our invitation to membership and mail the enrollment form while this offer is still fresh in your mind.

Any one for only \$5



The seven ARTS BOOK SOCIETY S66-10NR1
One Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

Please enroll me as a member of the Seven Arts Book Society and send me the Selection whose title I have indicated below. Regardless of the regular retail price, you will bill me only \$5 plus postage and handling. In all, I need only purchase four more books in the next year from the many that will be offered at prices substantially less than retail—then I may cancel my membership at any time. As a member I will also be entitled to receive free books by responding to the offers explained in my monthly copy of the Seven Arts News.

INTRODUCTORY BOOK: _____

OR

☐ Check here if, instead, you wish to receive the complete twelve volume set of GREAT AGES OF WORLD ARCHITECTURE—\$60 retail value—for only \$15.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Visions and Values: Education of Vision; The Nature and Art of Motion; Structure in Art and Science. A three-volume set edited by Gyorgy Kepes. Over 450 ills. Retail \$37.50.

Master Watercolors. Paul Vogt, Will Grohmann, and others. 36 ills., with 12 matted facsimile repros. in full color. (12 x 13 inches). Retail \$17.50.

Painting in the Twentieth Century. Werner Hofmann. Two volumes, boxed. 868 pages, 6 1/2 x 9 1/2 inches. 1061 ills. with 50 in color. Retail \$15.

Michelangelo. Fredrick Hartt. 160 pages, 10 x 13 inches. 134 ills. with 48 tipped-in color plates. Retail \$15.

Encyclopedia Of Modern Architecture. ed. by Wolfgang Pehnt. Texts by 31 noted architectural historians. 336 pages, 7 1/2 x 10 inches. 442 ills. Retail \$15.

Persian Architecture. Arthur U. Pope. 320 pages, 9 1/2 x 10 1/2 inches. More than 400 ills. with 34 in color. Retail \$25.

Turner, J. Rothstein and M. Butlin. 236 pages, 9 x 12 inches. 214 ills. with 24 in color. Retail \$20.

The Flowering Of The Italian Renaissance. André Chastel. 416 pages, 9 x 11 inches. Over 300 ills.—107 in color, 62 in sepia. Retail \$25.

Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture. intro. by John Burchard. 212 pages, 10 1/2 x 11 1/2 inches. 114 photos, 20 line drawings. Retail \$17.50.

Toulouse-Lautrec: His Complete Lithographs and Drawings. Jean Adhémar. 418 pages, 9 1/2 x 13 inches. 368 full-page repros. with 54 in color. Retail \$22.50.

GREAT AGES OF ARCHITECTURE
I. Roman, Gothic, Baroque and Rococo, and Modern architecture. Four volumes, boxed. Retail \$20.
II. Greek, Medieval, Early Christian and Byzantine, and Renaissance architecture. Four volumes, boxed. Retail \$20.
III. Japanese, Chinese and Indian, Pre-Columbian, and Western Islamic architecture. Four volumes, boxed. Retail \$20.

Note: You may take any one of the sets of GREAT AGES OF WORLD ARCHITECTURE for only \$5.00—or, as a special offer, you may take all three sets—12 volumes in all, retail \$60.00—for only \$15. Simply check the box on the coupon.

Goya: His Complete Etchings, Aquatints and Lithographs. Enrique L. Ferrari. 324 pages, 9 x 13 inches. 294 ills. Retail \$17.50.

Ben Shahn: Paintings and Graphic Art. James Thrall Soby. Two volumes, boxed. 285 pages, 8 1/2 x 11 inches. 236 repros. with 32 in color. Retail \$25.

Cities. Lawrence Halprin. 224 pages, 10 1/2 x 8 1/2 inches. 400 ills. Retail \$15.

Dürer: The Complete Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts. Karl-Adolf Knappe. Over 400 pages, 10 x 13 1/2 inches. Nearly 400 engravings, etchings, and woodcuts. Retail \$18.50.

New York Proclaimed. V. S. Pritchett. 245 pages, 8 1/2 x 11 inches. 112 full-page photos with 22 in color. Retail \$15.

Greek Sculpture. R. Lullies. 398 pages, 9 1/2 x 12 1/2 inches. 323 ills. with 11 in color. Retail \$17.50.

Key Monuments in the History Of Architecture. Alfred Frazer. 536 pages, 6 1/2 x 10 inches. 771 ills. Retail \$17.50.

Design for Modern Living. Gerd and Ursula Hatje. 320 pages, 8 1/2 x 11 1/2 inches. 494 ills. with 105 in color. Retail \$17.50.

Haverhill's Importorium

GOES TO THE ENDS OF THE EARTH
TO BRING YOU THE FINEST THINGS. UNUSUAL THINGS. UNEXPECTED,
INGENIOUS THINGS THAT MONEY CAN'T BUY ALONG MAINSTREET, U.S.A.
JUST-THAT-THING THINGS. UNNECESSARY, BUT NICE THINGS. VOILA:



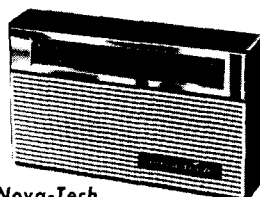
BEDSPECS

These genuine prismatic Bed-Specs are absolutely the last word in self-indulgence. Allow you to lie flat on your back and take in the whole television screen or a page of a book at one glance. Invaluable for invalids. Lie on the beach and watch people—without raising your head. Precisely aligned ground glass prisms; streamlined demi-blond frame. Can be worn with corrective glasses. Approved by leading ophthalmologists. Plush lined leatherette snap case. **\$14.95**



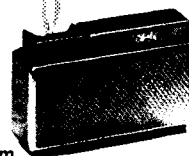
EMOSKOP Emoskop VESTPOCKET OPTICAL SYSTEM

Remove the EMOSKOP from its fitted leather case and it's a 30x microscope. A twist of the wrist converts it into a 2.5x telescope. Another twist and you have your choice of magnifiers: 5x, 10x, and 15x. Perfect vest-pocket companion for the exacting professional and scientist. Five coated lenses, absolutely aplanatic and achromatic. **Modern Photography** calls the EMOSKOP "...only magnifier worthy of name." $1\frac{1}{4}" \times 3\frac{1}{4}"$. **\$12.95** Note: Price of EMOSKOP after October 31 is **\$14.95**



Nova-Tech Beacon/Weather PORTABLE RADIO

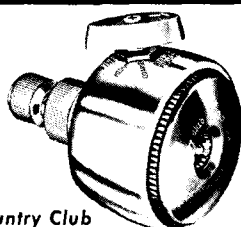
Incomparable 8-transistor radio. Standard broadcast band (530-1660 kc.) with excellent sound fidelity and volume for beach, picnics, etc. Weather/beacon band (200-400 kc.) for instant 24-hour weather information from as many as 15 FAA weather navigation stations up to 300 miles away. Know ahead of time what weather to expect. $5\frac{1}{2}" \times 3\frac{1}{2}" \times 2"$. 12 ozs. Case, batteries, earphone inc. **\$19.95**



Mylflam ELECTRONIC TABLE LIGHTER

The MYLFLAM is the high point of smart styling and performance. Lights up to hundreds of times per minute. A winner of many awards for beauty and technical perfection. Simple light pressure to the top bar provides instantaneous flame. Fully adjustable. A luxury appointment for home or office. Operates with standard butane gas and standard battery. Quite expensive, but really a marvelous product. In satin lined presentation box. **\$39.95**

GUARANTEE—You may return merchandise, for whatever reason within 2 weeks. Guarantee also covers material and workmanship for one year.



Country Club SHOWER HEAD

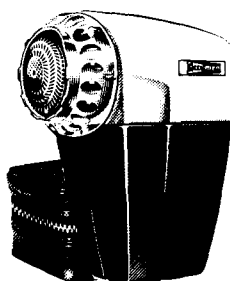
A luxury fixture for the modern home. The Country Club provides full volume shower spray—no stray streams and no "hollows," and is adjustable from sharp needle spray through full-volume medium and coarse sprays, to the "rinse-flush" position. Non-clogging, heavily chromed over copper and nickel base, with 24-karat gold face. Fits all U.S. fixtures. Installs in minutes. Gold gift box. **\$19.95**

World Famous ACCUMEN

For a Lifetime of Close Shaves... Hi-potential NiCd power plant gives 10 to 15 shaves before recharging. Shaving head $2\frac{1}{2}$ times larger than any other. Ultra-thin foil (0.00315"). Four individually sprung and balanced blades. Spotlights illuminate tiniest whiskers. Vacuum action. Lockable. Directly rechargeable from wall socket. With case, complete **\$24.95**.

Also available: Praktikus-5. Fitted case, with shaver, hair-clipper, massage/hairbrush, yellow blinker, automobile charger **\$39.95**. PLUS FREE BONUS—rechargeable flashlight (retail **\$4.95**)

Purchase of AccuMen enrolls you in the LifeTime Shaver Plan.



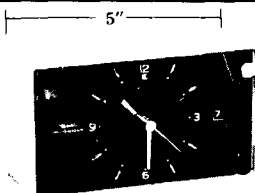
CANYON PAINT SPRAYER

The CANYON is unlike anything you have ever seen. It is self-contained. The compressor is built into the sprayer. All plastic. A cinch to clean. **\$14.95**. FREE. Viscometer to determine the exact degree of thinner required for perfect results.



BICKY MONOCULAR SYSTEM

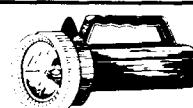
10x (30 mm.) prismatic, pistol grip, tripod, panning head. Car window adapter. Soft case and hand strap make BICKY as convenient to carry as a miniature camera. Outstanding optics (Kellner), fully coated. **\$25.75** SUPER B. 20x (40 mm.) **\$39.75** FREE with the 10x and 20x BICKY: "Birds of North America." A beautiful and comprehensive guide. 2,000 full-color illustrations, 340 pages.



CALENDAR ALARM

This outstanding clock will run one full year on one battery cell. Its functional form and exquisite lines will blend with the most demanding decor. Unusual alarm gives four discreet buzzes, plus a full-throated main alarm. Automatic calendar. Clock can be regulated to 2 seconds per 24 hours. White case, midnight blue illuminated dial, sweep seconds, gold numerals and hands. Truly, the "clock of tomorrow." **\$24.95**

A FREE GIFT FOR YOU. If your order (exclusive of postage and sales tax) is for \$30.00 or more, and if check accompanies order, we will send you a Floating Waterproof Lantern with Automatic Warning Blinker. Indispensable for boat operators, fishermen, motorists, etc. Regularly retails for \$4.95.



HAVERHILL'S, 526 Washington Street, San Francisco, California 94111

Please send me the following:

Quantity	Item	Amount	☐ Check enclosed.
_____	_____	_____	☐ Bill Diners' Acct. # _____
_____	_____	_____	☐ Bill Am. Express Acct. # _____
_____	_____	_____	☐ I am entitled to a free Floating Lantern.
_____	_____	_____	NAME: _____
_____	_____	_____	ADDRESS: _____
_____	_____	_____	ZIP: _____
_____	Subtotal \$	_____	
_____	Sales tax 4% (Calif. res.) \$	_____	
_____	Subtotal \$	_____	
_____	Postage & Insurance \$ 1.00	_____	
_____	Total \$	_____	

Haverhill's
Searching the World to bring you the finest
TNR1008

T.R.B.

from
Washington

Top Issue

★ Georgia Democrats have just nominated for governor pistol-packing racist Lester Maddox, who closed his restaurant rather than serve Negroes. Democrats in Maryland have nominated for governor racist George P. Mahoney of Maddox's breed. The Gallup poll shows that resistance of whites to measures aiding Negroes is at the highest point since soundings were started, in 1962. The Senate has rebelled against HEW moves to desegregate public schools and guidelines. The white backlash is here. It is the top national issue in this election.

There were nasty signs earlier that race was coming to the fore. The latest riot is in San Francisco. A lot of people who sneered at Negro rights are now exultantly telling us that enfranchisement has gone too far. They don't like the riots, so they indict a whole race.

But stop a bit. Politics or not, does anybody seriously believe that the rights drive will be ended by legislative "punishment," by repression? With teen-age Negro unemployment at 25 percent or over? "Nobody knew Watts existed before the Watts riots!" a Harlem Negro defiantly told the Ribicoff-Kennedy Senate hearing on cities, the other day. We may have a choice: civil rights or civil war.

The biweekly *New Leader*, Sept. 26, devotes its entire issue to scarifying testimony from Negro witnesses given to Sen. Ribicoff. They told things that nice people have been conditioning themselves not to hear for a century.

Witness Arthur Dunmeyer, for example, matter-of-factly said that at 30 he was already a grandfather, and "have eight kids by various different

women." He was a father at 15, he said; his daughter had a child at 12. He was illegitimate, his daughter illegitimate, her child illegitimate. What matter; they didn't care. There was no shame about going to jail either. Living in Harlem, he said, he was in jail already. The Negro and white views of sex, he noted, are "completely diverse." In the ghetto jungle the family is often a matriarchy, held together perhaps by some devoted grandmother.

Let the Negroes stew in what Daniel Patrick Moynihan (*The Negro Family in America*) calls "biological anarchy"? Nice people don't notice these things! But the ghetto has a revenge of its own. Consider these population projections: If present trends continue, Negroes will equal or outnumber whites in eight of the 10 biggest US cities within a generation. A recent staff report of the Senate GOP Policy Committee, *Where the Votes Are*, noted for the benefit of Republican candidates that "in 1960 one out of 10 Americans was a Negro, today one out of nine is a Negro, in 10 years, one out of eight Americans will be a Negro." Birth control doesn't get far in a slum.

It is our guess that the Democrats this fall are in a good deal of trouble. The President knows the score and after some fumbling has pulled a not-unexpected rabbit out of the hat: a dramatic trip to Manila for an international conference on Vietnam, adroitly scheduled after the World Series, and before the election. Republicans are predictably cynical. Well, they ought to know.

Ike's Trip to Korea

★ We remember the speech of candidate Eisenhower's in Detroit in October 1952, when he promised to take politics out of the war. "That job requires a personal trip to Korea," he said. "I shall make that trip." We remember the split-second pause between the stunned gasp and the whoop of applause. And we knew suddenly (if we doubted it before) that Adlai was licked. At a press conference later Truman called it a bit of demagoguery, and Ike never forgave him. However, Ike learned a lot from that bleak, wintry trip and he resolved with Admiral Radford and Foster Dulles that US troops had no business to be overcommitted and bogged down

in Asia. Let's hope Mr. Johnson profits by his trip, too.

As for the political angle, we doubt the Johnson trip will have a decisive effect on the election, though it may boost his popularity and mute the Vietnam issue. It has been shown again and again that Presidents don't normally have much leverage on *midterm* elections. People debate on the local sewer issue, not world affairs. There is normally a big fall-off of votes at midterm (Democrats being more listless than Republicans); and voters tend to take it out on the party in power, with a partial bounce-back of the Outs. The Outs then profess themselves vastly encouraged and the real race, for the presidency, promptly starts.

The big stake this November, we think, is not Johnson's paper majority (he will keep that), but his much smaller *real* majority of dedicated progressives. We think this will be sadly depleted. And the race issue may go through liberals like a scythe.

Look Back at 1942

★ The midterm issues, in the year 1942, were inflation, Negro disaffection and the war. On May 10 Gallup said the Democrats would gain 38 seats; on June 21, 10 seats and on August 18, eight seats. We are quoting an article in this magazine by Irving Dilliard, warning Democrats of grave danger. Flying smack in the face of Mr. Gallup, Dilliard forecast heavy Democratic losses, particularly House seats won by "very narrow margins" two years before.

Harold Ickes wrote Dilliard at once that he had read the article and had been trying to rouse FDR and the cabinet, but to no avail. The result - ? A Democratic disaster; contrary to early polls, Democrats *lost* 45 seats, and almost lost the House and Speaker.

We have been mulling over Dilliard's yellowed *NR* of Sept. 7, 1942, printed on the butcher-shop wrapping paper of that day. His was one of the most prescient bits of journalistic forecasting we have ever seen. As our eye scanned the copy it lingered fondly on the ancestral TRB, a post then held by Kenneth Crawford. Would the bombing of Pearl Harbor mean a fourth term for FDR, he asked? . . .

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion* Volume 155 Number 15 Issue 2707 October 8, 1966
 Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, 1244 19th St., N.W.,
 Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, \$9; Foreign \$10; Armed Forces per-
 sonnel or students, \$7. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of
 addresses to Subscription Department, The New Republic, 381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright © 1966
 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.

CONTENTS

COMMENT 5-9

White Wednesday, NATO and Vietnam,
 Eroding Goldberg, Slowdown on Pollution,
 Nosey Newsmen, Defeat for Packaging,
 Jail's Too Good for Them, One Step
 After Another

Campaign Spending - George Lardner 9
 Dirty Deal in Small Loans
 - James Ridgeway 11
 Getting Rid of Sukarno
 - Richard Butwell 12
 Why the "Red Guards"? - Victor Zorza 14
 The Adventures of Arthur Goldberg
 - Andrew Kopkind 15

FEIFFER 19

Frightened Writer by Stanley Kauffmann 20

BOOKS - Reviews by C. D. B. Bryan,
 Tom Wicker, Edward T. Chase 21

POEM by Gerald Jonas 21

FILMS by Pauline Kael 32

THEATRE by Robert Brustein 35

CORRESPONDENCE 36

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief - Gilbert A. Harrison
 Managing Editor - Alex Campbell
 Books and Arts Editor - Robert Evett
 Associate Literary Editor - Stanley Kauffmann
 Associate Editors - James Ridgeway,
 Andrew Kopkind
 Staff Writer - David Sanford
 Assistant to the Editors - F. R. Ruskin
 Copy Editor - Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel,
 Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Robert Coles,
 Joseph Featherstone, Helen Fuller,
 Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe,
 Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson,
 Pauline Kael

Publisher - Garth Hite
 Circulation Manager - Bertha Lehman
 Business Manager - Glenon Matthiesen
 New York Advertising Representative -
 E. Laurence White, Jr., Good-Laidley-White
 50 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

White Wednesday

In the *Congressional Record* of Wednesday, September 27 there are 12 pages of senatorial debate, culminating in two votes and one impression - the majority of the United States Senate has felt the white backlash and is running for cover. We've been moving too fast, says the Majority Leader, Mr. Mansfield; time to slow down. The Senators don't like the tough rhetoric of the new Negro leadership; riots in Northern cities have started their white constituents thinking about how to protect themselves, rather than how to protect the rights of Negroes. Even when Negroes use their constitutional right to assemble, peaceably, and petition for the redress of grievances, the legislators are beginning to resent it.

The Senate debate on Wednesday only seemed to be over an appropriation for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It was actually a debate over whether to enforce, rigorously and scrupulously, the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The first point at issue was Senator Jacob Javits' (R, N.Y.) desire to give HEW the funds it says it needs - \$927,000 - to carry out school desegregation responsibilities imposed upon it by Title VI of the '64 Act. Undersecretary Wilbur J. Cohen had informed the Senate that "any reduction from the estimate will impose a severe handicap on the department." It seemed to Senator Javits that "we made our decision upon the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and it is now our duty to hold up the hand of the department which is intelligently doing its utmost to implement that decision." There has been a little progress, he said, "but by no means enough." The most recent Office of Education figures are last fall's, showing that in the Deep South only 7.5 percent of the Negro pupils (217,000) were enrolled in mixed schools. In the 17 Southern and border states, 15.2 percent (503,000 pupils) were in desegregated schools. No national figures are available.

Senator John Pastore (D, R.I.) disagreed with Mr. Javits. The Appropriations Committee had, in his opinion, given due consideration to the needs of the department, and if it refused to do what Senator Javits wanted, it was because some of the senators "were to a greater or lesser degree vexed, or peeved, or indignant at some of the practices alleged to have been followed." What Mr. Pastore meant (senatorial courtesy precludes candor) was that his Southern colleagues don't want desegregation and many non-Southerners have lost some of their enthusiasm for integration; and Mr. Pastore "certainly would not question the sincerity of any colleague . . . for I have the highest

respect for their integrity." Senator Norris Cotton (R, N.H.) added that the whole dispute was "strictly a matter of economy." Yes, echoed Senator Lister Hill (D, Ala.), "we are seeking to economize and cut down where we can." The Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II, had warned that "particularly in the realm of compliance with the Civil Rights Act, the cuts imposed by the House committee have already severely handicapped our efforts," but the Senate had made up its mind. The funds were denied, 40-25.

The legislators then proceeded to back away from desegregation of hospitals receiving federal Medicare money. It was not the thought of anyone that HEW should abandon its desegregation guidelines. What was troubling Dr. John Stennis of Mississippi and Dr. Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts was the welfare of patients, who might be harmed by occupying a bed alongside someone else. "It is not a question of whether a person may be dark or white," said Dr. Saltonstall. "It may involve two whites or two dark-skinned people. But we are thinking of the best interests of the patient. We know what often happens in a room with two patients."

Under existing HEW guidelines, a doctor may certify that his patient should be isolated, and he will be. But Dr. Stennis said that was not enough. He wished to make sure that hospitals could not be penalized, not deprived of federal funds, should it turn out that a doctor and a hospital administrator reach the conclusion that quite a few of their patients need to be segregated. Stennis introduced his amendment to the HEW appropriations bill with that aim in mind.

Senator Javits knew exactly what the intent of the amendment was, that it would handicap HEW in securing hospital compliance with Article VI. "I wish," he said, "to leave HEW free to deny money to a hospital where exemptions are so wholesale as to invalidate the purpose of the law." Just before the vote, Dr. Stennis acknowledged that his amendment would "change the power of HEW to be the sole judges [as to who gets the money]. They must rule in accordance with this provision without penalty. . . . It will stop HEW from engaging in a scoring of hospitals on the basis of certified patients." HEW might not be required under his amendment to change its desegregation guidelines, but "they may have a different interpretation." The signal was clear. Fifty-five senators voted with Stennis, 11 against — nine Democrats plus Republicans Clifford Case of New Jersey and Javits.

On that same white Wednesday, 3,500 national guardsmen were called out to put down violence after a policeman in San Francisco had killed a 16-year-old Negro who was fleeing from a stolen car; the US Office of Education held up 52,000 pamphlets carrying tough civil rights speeches by Commissioner Howe.

NATO and Vietnam

West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard came to Washington to talk about dollars and marks, and left committed to "a searching reappraisal" of European defense needs, to be undertaken jointly with this country and Britain. The outcome is as satisfactory as anything of that nature can be without the French, who hold the key to Europe's nonnuclear defense and know it. It was sensible to try to extricate the security problem from the thickets of finance in which it is entangled, though the attempt was so clumsy it may yet fail. Defense Secretary McNamara showed surprising lack of sympathy for Erhard's money troubles considering that the Pentagon is behind in paying its own bills to defense contractors. McNamara demanded \$900 million from Erhard before next June 30; Erhard hasn't got it, his parliament has cut his defense budget, so he will have to borrow.

But after next June the Germans won't go on buying \$675-million worth of American arms every year, now that tension has slackened in Europe and nobody at present much fears the Russians. Anyway, this sum was set less with an eye to Bonn's defense needs, real or imaginary, than to offsetting the dollar costs of maintaining 225,000 American troops in Germany. This country doesn't need that many soldiers in Europe any more than the Germans want to pay us \$675 million a year for extra arms they have no use for. The obvious course was to try to find out what the real defense needs are, and this apparently will be done. The likely outcome is a considerable cutback in American, and also British, troop strength in Germany. The British have 50,000 men there and want to bring at least half of them home. The US may pull back over a period of time two or three of its six divisions; a cutback is demanded by 31 senators headed by Mike Mansfield, the Majority Leader.

Pulling American troops out of Germany won't contribute much to further easing of world tension if the troops are just switched to Vietnam. That war has to be got out of the way before the Russians agree to match Allied troop cuts with Soviet ones; otherwise Russia stands accused by China of freeing US forces for Asia. But, if Vietnam were solved, the way would open for a solution in Europe, too. The Russians don't want to keep an expensive military establishment in Europe any more than we do; at present they have 20 divisions in East Germany. The US not only has 225,000 soldiers on West German soil, it has 7,000 nuclear warheads there, more than double the number it had in 1961. The West Germans have 12 divisions, that is 500,000 soldiers, and almost 700 Starfighter planes that can carry nuclear bombs. Europe, not Asia, contains at the present

time the greatest concentration of military power that the world has ever known.

Eroding Goldberg

UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, whose adventures are detailed on page 15, quickly had the rug pulled from under his Vietnam proposals by a galaxy of talent starring President Johnson and Defense Secretary McNamara. The intensified US air attacks on North Vietnam and the Pentagon announcement of a 30-percent increase in US air strength materially helped French Foreign Minister Couve de Murville to erode the credibility of Goldberg at the UN last week. So did Mr. Johnson's proclaimed intention to attend in Manila a war council of what Senator J. William Fulbright calls "our boys": South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand. Whatever happened to Philippines President Marcos' suggestion for a "Tashkent for Southeast Asia, to end the brutal war in Vietnam"? Marcos wanted "all Asian countries and the Soviet Union" to attend.

India and Pakistan won't be at Manila, nor will Japan nor of course Russia. Australian External Affairs Minister Paul Hasluck, who will be there, last week outdid even Secretary Rusk in opposing China's admission to the UN; and Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman estranged the UN's Afro-Asians by the virulence with which he attacked UN Secretary General U Thant for being an appeaser. The US has five air bases in Thailand, from which attacks are launched daily on Vietnam and Laos.

Now, however, the Viet Cong's National Liberation Front is talking over the heads of all those hawks, to the new political forces in Saigon; the Vietnamese, with an assist from Gromyko if not Rusk, may yet rescue the US by settling the war themselves.

Slowdown on Pollution

Behind the scenes in Congress the Administration has asked that the pollution abatement program be held back as part of its economy drive. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall puts up a brave front and has a highly regarded new assistant secretary in Frank DiLuzio. But the White House pall is over them all.

Mr. Johnson has talked plentifully about combating water pollution but never has proposed any meaningful legislation. The real innovator has been Senator Edmund Muskie (D, Me.). This year Muskie got through the Senate another broad bill to increase federal grants to cities for building sewage works. It calls for spending \$150 million in 1967 — the same amount as this year — but then sharply increases the federal share in 1968 to

\$600 million, and on up, committing the government to spending \$6.2 billion over the next six years.

When the House Public Works Committee, under John Blatnik (D, Minn.), took up the Senate bill, the Budget Bureau, representing the White House, argued against spending the money. Small-town congressmen agreed. The committee decided to limit a city to \$2.4 million per project. (Detroit alone needs \$100 million for sewage plants; Cleveland, \$46 million.) It reduced the Senate's \$6.2-billion construction schedule to \$2.45 billion. The House bill is likely to reach the floor within the next week or so. If it passes, the Senate will seek to restore funds in conference, but since all this will be argued during the last hectic days of Congress, the outcome is problematical.

Nosey Newsmen

FDR enjoyed teasing reporters (though he once got mad enough to award the German iron cross to a New York columnist); John F. Kennedy was wryly amused by what was said about him (he was reading the press more and enjoying it less); but Lyndon Johnson gets downright annoyed. Why can't journalists take his word for what's happening, and why can't they wait until he has told them that it has happened? On September 22 he scolded them for speculating on Mr. Katzenbach's successor as attorney general: "You can count on speculation as being totally unreliable and uninformed. The very fact that it is there [in the newspapers or on radio or television] is the best indication that it's not going to happen." Earlier that day, he was nettled by a question concerning a State Department appointment. No, no, he did not have a replacement for Foy Kohler: "I wait for Mr. [Marquis] Childs to get this little State Department straightened out and then we'll get to ambassadors." (In February, he "would not believe *The Washington Post* and *The New York Herald-Tribune* would be in the business of either predicting or nominating my Secretary of State.")

Last month, Mr. Johnson met with business leaders, economists and congressmen to get their thoughts about the economy. "I let them play President for a while," he told reporters, "just like they were working for some newspaper." And when he was asked whether a USIA survey on attitudes abroad about Vietnam would be made public, he replied: "The man you probably got it from is more in his job for you than the man representing me over there because I haven't seen it."

It's like a running sore. Last April, he advised newsmen that he didn't want his White House staff man, Walt W. Rostow, "to play any position too long, because he gets too familiar with you, and familiarity

breeds contempt." That was followed by a question about various polls showing a decline in the President's popularity. "I guess it must be the wish is father to the thought," Mr. Johnson replied, "or maybe you people promote some of this doubt." On that occasion too he had nothing to report on the military operations in Vietnam, nothing that everyone hadn't seen in the papers: "Sometimes I believe you fellows get these things — they court you — before they get to me with some of them."

In June, he declined comment on a possible step-up in air strikes in North Vietnam: "I would not want to get boxed in by a commitment to *The New York Times* that I would do this or that." And he preferred to say no more about the prospects of widening the war, because "I don't want to get fenced in by a commitment to *The Washington Post* or any other person. . . ."

Defeat for Packaging

After four years of wrestling with food manufacturers, Senator Philip Hart (D, Mich.) finally got a packaging bill through the Senate, only to have it gutted by the House Commerce Committee. The House committee deleted a section in the Senate bill which required the government to set mandatory standards for packages. George A. Koch, president of the Grocery Manufacturers of America, led the fight against the bill in the House. He appealed to a number of junior Democrats with big packaging plants in their districts: for example, James Mackay of Atlanta (Coca Cola); John M. Murphy of Staten Island (Campbell Soup); John A. Gilligan of Cincinnati (Proctor & Gamble). It had been argued that the different sizes of packages in the market confused the housewife. But opponents of the bill said that by standardizing package sizes, stores would become dreary Russian-style supermarkets.

The House bill isn't worth anything. It may go through, but only because the politicians need something to talk about; it could be used as a little something to pacify housewives who are angry about higher food prices. There is a chance the standards section can be put back in during conference, but it is slim.

Jail's Too Good for Them

When the Selective Service reclassified 13 University of Michigan students 1-A for sitting-in at the Ann Arbor draft board in a Vietnam protest last October 15, newspapers like the *Los Angeles Times*, *Detroit Free Press* and the *National Observer* denounced the Selective Service for intimidating dissenters. NBC and CBS ran

sympathetic feature spots on the students. Senator Philip Hart, University of Michigan president Harlan Hatcher and other public figures said that the reclassifications were a "perversion" of the draft.

Last month, six of the students lost their final reclassification appeal on a unanimous vote of President Johnson's draft appeal board. National draft director Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey explained that the decision puts the students on "the belt that runs toward the induction station." Ernest Mazey, chairman of the Michigan chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, expressed confidence that General Hershey's "belt will not run smoothly. We think the court will take the use of the Selective Service system to punish dissenters more seriously than General Hershey does." The ACLU is now seeking a federal court restraining order to prevent induction of the six.

But a New York federal court rejected a similar ACLU request for a restraining order on behalf of two New York students this summer; the students, said the court, had not exhausted their Selective Service appeal rights. The six Michigan students have, and Michigan draft director Col. Arthur Holmes notes: "The federal courts have never ordered a draft board to hold up induction. Besides the law says the decision of the



"Hey, General — that's a lasso, not a whip."

presidential appeal board is final." Colonel Holmes expects to order the students for their physicals in November and to induct them early this winter.

Selective Service declines to accept the thought that the students should be taken to court not into the army if they really violated Selective Service law by sitting in. "A lot of people argue you should send these boys to prison instead of the army," says General Hershey. "The answer is quite simple; Congress passed a draft law to get these boys into the armed forces not into jail." And, he adds, "I'm one of those old-fashioned fathers who never let pity interfere with a spanking."

One Step After Another

In word, if not in deed, Ambassador Goldberg's address at the opening of the UN General Assembly committed the Administration to a bolder peace line in Vietnam than that taken a week earlier by two prominent liberal critics of US policy – Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Richard Goodwin. Mr. Schlesinger's views on Vietnam were printed in an article in *The New York Times Magazine* September 18, and Mr. Goodwin's remarks were delivered the preceding day to the national board of Americans for Democratic Action.

Ambassador Goldberg proposes "de-escalation" and, by mutual agreement, the phased withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Vietnam; Schlesinger and Goodwin call for "no wider war." Ambassador Goldberg says that the bombing of the north can be stopped altogether, and now, if there is the slightest sign of reciprocity from Hanoi, Mr. Schlesinger advises that we "taper this off [the bombing] as prudently as we can," and Mr. Goodwin says that "it should not be increased." Ambassador Goldberg speaks of exerting "every effort to bring the conflict to the earliest possible end." Mr. Schlesinger and Mr. Goodwin share that hope; yet Mr. Schlesinger thinks that "holding the line in South Vietnam is essential," and Mr. Goodwin wants "no lessening of the war in the south."

Historians will be interested in one backward glance by Mr. Schlesinger. "It is not only idle," he writes, "but unfair to seek out guilty men. . . . In retrospect each step led only to the next, until we find ourselves entrapped today in that nightmare of American strategists, a land war in Asia – a war which no President, including President Johnson, desired or intended."

Good men miscalculate, and charity is a virtue, but desires and intentions of national leaders are not the whole, perhaps not even the most important part of the story. Decisions and their consequences are the substance of history. It should be recalled, therefore, that when John F. Kennedy entered the White House, the US advisory force in Vietnam numbered about 600.

From then on, the threshold of military activity was raised, deliberately, time and again, and each time, it was doubtless the desire of the President to go no further. "The activities and numbers of our troops," Pierre Salinger recounts in his book, *With Kennedy*, "were well within the limits proposed by the Geneva Conference of 1954. . . ." But in late 1961, he relates, "The President sent his then military adviser at the White House, General Maxwell Taylor, to Vietnam for a personal investigation of the situation. . . . The General felt . . . that the level of US support, both in personnel and supplies, needed to be escalated. President Kennedy and the joint chiefs of staff concurred with General Taylor's recommendations, and the United States started a gradual buildup of troops which was to reach over 20,000 at the time of the death of the President." President Kennedy's reply to a question on Vietnam, 19 months before his assassination, could be given today by Lyndon Johnson and no one would think it uncharacteristic. "I am extremely concerned," Mr. Kennedy said, "about American soldiers who are in a great many areas of hazard. We are attempting to help Vietnam maintain its independence and not fall under the domination of the communists. The government has stated that it needs our assistance in doing it. . . . It presents a very hazardous operation in the same sense that World War II, World War I, Korea – a good many thousands and hundreds of thousands died. But we cannot desist in Vietnam."

Campaign Spending

For the '66 House campaign, where their hopes are highest, Republican national finance committees have almost 10 times more cash to spend than their Democratic counterparts; in the Senate, twice as much. The party without a President has been sending checks since springtime – to archconservative candidates in Mississippi and South Carolina, as well as to moderates from New York, Michigan and Kentucky.

Needless to say, Capitol Hill campaign committees are far from the only contributors to congressional campaigns. Business and labor, state and county party organizations, pressure groups and friends put in money, too. Quite a few Democrats will thus manage this year. Yet freshmen in the House are hard hit by the lack of regular party funds.

The Republicans report a national war chest of \$2,234,000 – \$1,179,000 of it set aside for Republican Congressional Committee support of GOP incumbents and \$1,155,000 for Booster Club incursions into Democratic territory. The reports cover the campaign year up to September 1, but fund-raisers are still at it.

In Illinois' 11th District, where a white backlash is

hurting Democrat Roman Pucinski, the GOP had sent \$10,000 by the start of last month to his opponent, Chicago alderman John J. Hoellen. (Pucinski up to that time had had \$500 from his party in Washington.)

In Alaska, where at-large Congressman Ralph J. Rivers (D) squeaked to victory two years ago, state senator Howard W. Pollock, a Goldwater conservative, has been given another \$10,000 from the national GOP campaign treasury. (Meanwhile, Rivers and most other Democratic incumbents hadn't gotten a penny; neither had any Democrat seeking a first term in the House.)

Campaign-year reports filed with the clerk of the House show that the Republicans have singled out 127 congressional districts for special attention. All were picked by the Republican Congressional Boosters Club, which aims its cash at Democratically held districts. Twenty-four of the 127 Republican candidates have gotten \$10,000 each so far, with more on the way to some of them. Besides the 127 helped by the Boosters Club to knock out incumbent Democrats, the GOP Congressional Committee has sent contributions, most of them for \$2,000 each, to 103 GOP House incumbents.

The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, which is supposed to keep both incumbents and non-incumbents happy (they have no Boosters Committee), reports income of \$238,900 as of September 1. Not included in this figure is another \$79,000 for its own operations, none of which will be spent on individual candidates. As of the start of last month, the committee had sent only \$38,000 in contributions – for every seat in the House. (In contrast the GOP stands ready to invest as much as \$15,000 a man to bump Iowa's five Democratic freshmen.)

In the Senate, the Republican Campaign Committee, headed by Senator Thruston B. Morton (R, Ky.), has been able to find funds in its \$591,000 treasury for almost every GOP candidate with a chance to make The Club, whether he's a member now or not. For the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, on the other hand, insiders come first. For instance, Senators Allen Ellender (D, La.) and John McClellan (D, Ark.) both got \$10,000 contributions to fight off insignificant Democratic opposition in their state primaries. Neither has Republican opposition in November. McClellan, who got his \$10,000 on Arkansas' primary day, says he didn't ask for the money, and that he told fellow Democrats he wouldn't need it all.

Democratic candidates facing tight races for the Senate, such as Tennessee's Governor Frank Clement and Michigan's G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams, had at last report received nothing from the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee. Their Republican opponents – Howard Baker Jr. in Tennessee (Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen's son-in-law), and Michigan's appointed Senator Robert P. Griffin – have had \$2,500

each from the Republican Campaign Committee.

In South Carolina, where Republicans are having a grand time denouncing the Great Society as the "New Leech on Life," GOP Senate candidate Marshall Parker has been sent \$5,000; former Governor Ernest F. Hollings, the Democratic candidate, nothing. The Republican campaigners on Capitol Hill scraped up \$1,000 for Mississippi Republican Prentiss Walker's Senate race, although GOP Committee Chairman Morton had publicly declared the segregationist wouldn't get a dime.

Congressmen traditionally complain of stinginess by the Democratic National Committee. But National Committee officials are still mumbling about the unpaid bills they trace back to the 1964 presidential campaign. "I'm not closing the door," says Acting DNC Treasurer Criswell, "but the prospects for additional money aren't very good." The Democratic National Committee's financial reports show another year of deficit spending – with \$1.4 million taken in and \$1.5 million paid out.

The President's Club – controversial repository for fat-cat contributions – shows, on paper, a surplus of almost \$1 million for the year, but officials at the National Committee insist the money isn't there. The Democrats, they blandly explain, do not report all their debts. "We don't have a million dollars lying around," says Criswell. And if it were there, it would be hard to pry it loose for congressional candidates.

One freshman, Rep. Raymond F. Clevenger (D, Mich.) whose opponent has had \$10,000 from the GOP Boosters Club, tried a novel gimmick, the money-raising "non-event." For \$15 contributions he promised not to hold a July 4 cocktail party full of warm drinks and soggy shrimp – his imagination brought him only \$2,000.

In 1964, House liberals who form the Democratic Study Group had the DSG as well as the House Democratic Campaign Committee sending them money. The DSG raised almost \$100,000 two years ago, but it got off to a late start this time. It reported raising only \$7,525 by September and has little hope of reaching its \$75,000 goal. As of last week the Study Group had yet to make its first contribution to a candidate.

Conservative Republicans have a far better-heeled subsidiary in the Citizens Committee for Conservatives, which had some \$200,000 left over from its heyday as the Citizens for Goldwater-Miller. This committee has spent \$127,000 so far with most of the money earmarked for Republican candidates down South. Among its beneficiaries in the North, former Rep. John R. Pillion, an ultra-conservative who once complained that statehood for Hawaii would mean two Soviet agents in the Senate, got \$2,000 to unseat the freshman Democrat who in 1964 unseated him. GEORGE LARDNER

MR. LARDNER reports on Capitol Hill for The Washington Post.

Dirty Deal in Small Loans

Finance companies are making a killing on insurance. Tacked on to their high interest rates is an exorbitant charge for insurance, used to repay the loan in case the borrower dies. It takes the risk out of lending.

But what the customers probably don't know is that relatively few borrowers die before loans are repaid. Much of the premiums are pure profit, and a good bit of it is funneled back to the finance company either in the form of commission or because the loan company owns the insurance company.

In a speech in Chicago last week, Dean Sharp, an assistant counsel of the Senate antitrust and monopoly subcommittee, said an unpublished committee report on credit life insurance indicates that borrowers have been overcharged \$700 million since 1959.

About 80 percent of the \$72 billion in outstanding consumer debt is covered by credit life insurance. This is financing for automobile and household appliances as well as personal loans.

Premiums for credit life vary around the country, and run from a low of 37.5 cents per \$100 borrowed per year charged by General Motors Acceptance Corp., the biggest finance company, to \$2 per \$100 asked by the small loan companies located near military bases. A usual premium is \$1 per \$100. The insurance usually is calculated on the whole loan and must be paid at the outset. This can add up: A Washington finance company recently quoted a price of \$30 for insurance on a three-year, \$3,000 loan.

Credit life is a relatively small part of the insurance industry, but it is the fastest growing. The business is lucrative because costs are low, and borrowers seldom howl. Once in the hands of a finance company they are too beaten down to figure out the different charges which frequently are hidden. Last year 63 million borrowers paid insurance companies \$590 million in premiums for credit life. The major costs to the insurer are death payments, but they only came to \$280 million. James H. Hunt, Vermont's insurance commissioner, and one of the people concerned about the high cost of this insurance, said recently that actuarial studies showed the cost of a claim to be only 30 cents per \$100 borrowed. The insurance companies themselves have said that administrative expenses run a bit under 5 cents per \$100. This brings total cost to 35 cents. So, if a company charges the usual \$1 per \$100 rate, it comes out with a profit of 65 cents.

This system can result in rosy profits. For example, Old Republic Life Insurance Co. of Chicago is one of the biggest firms specializing in credit life and writes little else. In 1965 Old Republic reported premiums of

\$62.6 million and paid out death benefits of \$23.3 million. This suggests a gross profit of 63 percent.

The interests of the finance and insurance companies frequently coincide. The insurance company pays the finance firm a commission on the credit life sold and, of course, the more made in premiums, the higher the commission. At the end of a good year, it is common practice for the insurance company to kick back profits to the finance company. This is known in the trade as the retrospective rate credit. Thus, competition works in reverse. Instead of looking around for the cheapest insurance for its borrowers, it is very much in the interest of the finance company to work the rates as high as possible.

Moreover, some of the biggest finance companies own the insurance companies that write policies on their loans. Under this double-headed arrangement, the parent finance company makes money on interest as well as from premiums, and it can charge the insurance subsidiary management fees for handling the records.

There are even more subtle renderings. "In examining the statement of a very large and well-regarded stock insurance company," Commissioner Hunt has said, "I noticed that most of their credit life business was being reinsured. There was no actuarial reason for this, so I made some inquiries. It turned out that this company wrote credit insurance for a large finance company. The deal was that the insurance company reinsured over 95 percent of the incoming credit business with an insurance company controlled by the finance company. About 45 percent of the premium was profit, and, of course, all but a prenegotiated part of this went to the wholly-owned subsidiary of the finance company. For a price, then, the finance company bought the good name of the insurance company and, to boot, avoided the appearance of controlling the business, whereas, in fact, they did."

Mr. Hunt makes this seem all rather conspiratorial. But there are no laws prohibiting finance companies from owning insurance companies; nor in most places are there any restrictions on their dealings with insurance companies. These transactions are in the open and apparently regarded as a common business practice, as the following examples suggest:

CIT Financial Corp., second biggest finance company in the country, buys credit life from Connecticut General which then reinsures these policies with a wholly-owned subsidiary of CIT called North American Co. (Figures for North American were not readily available. But Connecticut General says that it took in \$13.5 million in credit life premiums in 1965 and paid out \$6.7

million in death benefits for a gross profit of 50 percent. As a reinsurer North American shared in the risks and the profits.)

Associates Investment Co., another of the largest finance companies, also owns an insurance subsidiary which writes some of the credit life on its loans. The way it got into the business is interesting. In 1953, Associates wanted to move into the insurance field. At the time, Old Republic was issuing credit life policies for the finance company. Associates then set up an insurance subsidiary called Alinco. Old Republic reinsured Associates' business with Alinco and handled the administrative details. Alinco had no office or any salaried employees. An accountant employed by another of Associates' subsidiaries spent one day a month taking care of the books. Despite the simplicity of its operation between 1953 and 1959, Alinco's financial success was striking. Its net gain from operations during that period, before federal income taxes but after paying its expenses and share of death benefits, was in excess of \$28.5 million. In 1957 Associates acquired Capitol Life Insurance Co. of Denver, an old line insurance company, and subsequently shut down Alinco.

An Associates' official recently said insurance rates range from 50 to 75 cents per \$100 borrowed. In 1965 Capitol Life, which writes half of Associates policies, reported premiums of \$4.3 million and death payments of \$1.6 million (gross gain of 63 percent).

Other companies have insurance subsidiaries. Commercial Credit Co. owns American Health & Life Insurance Co. which writes policies on the parent's loans. An American official said an insurance rate is \$1 per \$100. American showed premiums of \$10.6 million last year against death payments of \$5.8 million for a gross gain of 45 percent.

Financial General controls Bankers Security Life Insurance Society. The Transamerica Corp. owns Pacific Finance Corp. which, in turn, controls Pacific Fidelity Life Insurance Co.

In general, the profits for insurance companies in this business range from about 36 percent to 60 percent. Commenting on this situation, Commissioner Hunt said, "If normal competition, rather than reverse competition, could exist there would be a tremendous reduction in costs of credit insurance passed on to borrowers. I would estimate that, based on current premium income, the savings would exceed a hundred million dollars nationwide annually."

Payment of death benefits probably has risen during the past year because of the war. Many finance companies thrive on army camps. One congressional investigator reports helicopter pilots at Fort Rucker, Ala., about to leave for Vietnam, are buying automobiles and household appliances. They borrow the money and it is insured against their death at rates up to \$2 per

\$100. The Defense Department has approved 93 life insurance companies to solicit business on military posts. One-third of these write credit life, and include companies charging high rates.

As in the case of all insurance, regulation of credit life is left in the hands of the states. Thirty-one states have no effective regulation over rates charged. Massachusetts recently sought to bring down rates by limiting the premium to 50 cents per \$100 per year. Both Vermont and Connecticut have passed laws prohibiting lenders from making a profit on credit insurance in the small loan field.

In his Chicago speech, Dean Sharp called for federal regulation. As a step in this direction, the antitrust and monopoly subcommittee will surely want to release its study of credit life insurance, and hold a full-scale investigation. This would come under Senator Dodd's insurance subcommittee. Dodd comes from Connecticut, the insurance capital, which means that when he proceeds, if ever, it is at a snail's pace. (The committee has been involved in an alleged study of the insurance industry since 1958.) At any rate, in this matter, the large life insurance companies may want to protect themselves before the finance companies get them into a mess which Dodd can't cover up. Credit life insurance on any loans under \$1,000 should be banned outright. The risks to the finance companies are too slight to bother with. And the Congress should make it illegal for a finance company to profit on insurance.

JAMES RIDGEWAY

Getting Rid of Sukarno

Indonesia's Leaders Have A Surplus of Opponents

Djakarta

Can General Suharto and his military and political allies dump Indonesia's long-time President Sukarno? A year has passed since Sukarno played a part, whatever its exact nature, in the communist coup that failed. Sukarno's power to influence decisions of state is less than it has ever been since Indonesia declared its independence of Dutch rule in 1945. Indonesia has resumed participation in the United Nations, peace exists with Malaysia, the alliance with Peking has been abandoned, foreign capital is being wooed. Each of these moves reverses Sukarno policies, yet he remains president.

Probably the chief reason is the number of other problems confronting General Suharto, the country's

real leader today. Fighting with communist forces continues in Java. The Nationalist and Moslem Scholars parties, the best organized and largest political groupings in the country, supported Sukarno in the past and still do so clandestinely. Suharto is trying to negotiate their acceptance of his military-dominated government; a confrontation with Sukarno would make that harder to do. Sukarno has communist support particularly in east and central Java. Followers of Islam, including the Moslem Scholars, turned on the communists, nearly 300,000 of whom were massacred the past year. But this does not mean the Moslems support the sort of secular leadership associated with some of Suharto's chief followers, especially Foreign Minister Adam Malik. Students, meanwhile, have indirectly attacked General Suharto for not having moved fast enough in his efforts to uproot the old order. In short, Suharto has a surplus of opponents, and he has been wise enough not to take on all of them at once.

The military, in addition, is divided, which may have been why Sukarno thought that he could get away with dismissing anti-communist General Abdul Haris Nasution as defense minister in February. Nasution and Suharto are by no means yet opponents, let alone rivals, but they were drifting apart at the time of Sukarno's now seemingly rash action, and the estrangement has continued. This plays into Sukarno's hands, the more so as he does not lack allies in the services. There are personality clashes in the armed forces which the world has heard little of, because this is the subject, above all others, that Djakarta-based correspondents are not supposed to write about.

Sukarno has played a skillful game with the exception of his dismissal of Nasution and his simultaneous attempt to increase pro-communist strength in the government. In his independence day speech on August 17, Sukarno succeeded in thoroughly dissociating himself from almost all the major policies of the Suharto government. For those who oppose the government he remains a symbol of dissociation from the triumvirate of Suharto, Malik and Sultan Buwono of Jogjakarta. Large numbers of Indonesians probably still revere him as the father of independent nationhood. Even his opponents, save foreign minister Malik, hesitate to remove him because of the implied admission that Indonesia as a nation made a serious mistake in following his leadership these many years. Moreover, Sukarno could be used to advantage in nation-building myth-making in years to come – if only he would not seek to reestablish his former dominance.

Sukarno for all of these reasons is still around, but few informed observers in Djakarta, whether Indonesian or foreign, doubt that General Suharto long ago realized that Sukarno probably has to go eventually. Efforts to denigrate Sukarno, and to associate him with

the corruption of the past and the attempted communist coup of September 30-October 1, 1965, have increased in recent months. Jusuf Muda Dalam, formerly the cabinet member in charge of central bank affairs under Sukarno, was recently convicted of corruption and subversion, following a trial in which Sukarno was alleged to have shared the responsibility for Dalam's actions. Sukarno's young, beautiful, Japanese-born fourth wife, has admitted receipt of a \$2-million deferred payment credit from Dalam.

Four servicemen and two civilians have been sentenced to death for their roles in last year's abortive coup, two others to life imprisonment. Their trials also suggested Sukarno's involvement in the takeover attempt in which six anti-communist generals were brutally murdered and their bodies mutilated. Jailed former air force chief, Vice Marshal Omar Dhani, told a military court in August that he "permitted" former Lieutenant-Colonel Heru Atmodjo, subsequently sentenced to life, to fly Sukarno from his palace in Djakarta to Halim air base, on the night of September 30, 1965, because he thought that what was taking place was "simply a purge of generals, an internal army matter – not a *coup d'etat*." But ex-air force Major Gatot Sukrisno, also jailed for life, pleaded guilty to a leading part in the coup attempt and claimed he was "only following the line of Sukarno and Dhani." Dhani himself will soon stand trial.

The intensely disliked former foreign minister, Dr. Subandrio, was to have been tried before the August 17 observance of Indonesia's independence day; the trial was delayed reportedly because of evidence of the physical abuse to which the once arrogant Subandrio had been subjected. Subandrio was a gambler who played for high stakes, in terms both of the large personal fortune he amassed, and the aspiration he so badly concealed of filling Sukarno's political shoes when Sukarno died. Subandrio may implicate Sukarno in the communist takeover try to a much greater extent than has so far been done publicly, hoping that this will save his own skin, but he will lose.

General Suharto, however, will probably give Sukarno one last chance. The message will be a simple one: "There's nobody left but you, Bung – will you play ball, or is this the way you want it to end?" Suharto might even be willing to retain him as a figurehead for a while – if he can restrain the impulsive students who are already calling for Sukarno's political head.

RICHARD BUTWELL

MR. BUTWELL is the Director of the William Andrew Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce of the University of Kentucky. He is the author (with Amry Vandenbosch) of *The Changing Face of Southeast Asia*.

MOSCOW HOPES THE "REVISIONISTS" WILL PREVAIL

Why the "Red Guards"?

London

The Kremlin has let it be known that the "revisionist" opposition in China was almost on the point of taking over the established leadership shortly before the present crisis came out into the open. Moscow hopes that the "revisionists" may yet prevail. Because the opposition, which reached into the highest leadership, controlled considerable sections of the army and party networks, the counteraction had to bypass the established chain of command. Hence Peking's appeal to the masses through the so-called "cultural revolution" over party officials' heads in the provinces and, when this failed in some areas, the setting up of Red Guard units which attacked party headquarters in the provinces. According to this analysis, the trouble has been growing for several years, but it was brought to a head by China's recent reverses in the international arena, and by the mounting dangers of the Vietnam war.

The Soviet analysis has not been openly published, but it has been passed on to a number of "fraternal" parties, and it can be deduced from the explanations of the Chinese crisis which they have circulated to their own members. Among the published sources are the resolution of the East German Communist Party, released shortly after Ulbricht's visit to Moscow, and an article in *Mundo Obrero*, the "illegal" Spanish communist paper, edited from Eastern Europe. There is much internal evidence in the article to suggest that it was based on information supplied by Moscow.

Mundo Obrero ("Workers World") declares that those forces in the Chinese leadership which stood for the reestablishment of international communist unity "came close to gaining the upper hand." The East German politburo believes that the struggle is far from over: "The policy of the Chinese leaders is bound to lead to new and still greater contradictions and controversies." The account which follows is based mainly on the Spanish communist statement, which, being less "official" than the German politburo document, was able to come to grips with some of the more intriguing aspects of the Chinese crisis.

Against whom is the Chinese campaign directed? The "precise answer" is given by the statement of the Chinese central committee, which says that those officials "in power" who have taken the capitalist road are the target of the "cultural revolution." But why, if there was any objection to their policies, were they not

ousted by a party congress or the central committee, as required by the party statutes? As the central committee later announced, the purpose of the "cultural revolution" was to oppose the usurpation of party and state leadership by "revisionists." In other words, "those who claim" to support Mao felt themselves "in danger of becoming a minority," and had therefore sought to impose their will on the party by recourse to unlawful methods of political struggle. The cultural revolution was an attempt at "political subversion." How else could one explain the fact that in a country ruled by a communist party, "it is necessary to resort to street riots to implement a socialist revolution."

Thus the "cultural revolution" was "a sort of putsch designed to prevent the creation of a new majority in the party." This majority would be formed by men "who have lately dissociated themselves step by step from ultra-extremist positions." Whatever their faults, these men had "devoted their lives to the cause of communism," and they could not fail to draw the proper conclusions from the defeats they had suffered in Indonesia and Africa.

"They must have realized the consequences of China's growing isolation." In face of the escalation in Vietnam, they must have become "even more aware" of the danger to China implicit in Peking's anti-Soviet line. Gradually in the party's "leading organizations" – by which communists usually mean the central committee and the politburo – "a situation must have arisen in which those who hold foolish views were in danger of finding themselves in a minority." The further development of this situation was prevented by "the abrupt break" imposed by the cultural revolution.

The German statement adds that the party leadership had tried, unsuccessfully, "to smash the growing opposition" in the course of 1964 and 1965. The conflict in the army came into the open at the beginning of this year, when it became apparent that some military commanders, impressed by the capabilities of modern weapons, "were not in agreement" with the view of Mao and/or Lin Piao, the defense minister, that an American attack on China could be repulsed by means of a "people's war."

Thereupon the military opposition was defeated, and the army leadership headed by Lin Piao initiated the "cultural revolution." In point of time, to judge from

Spanish and German accounts, and from Peking's own disclosures, the climax came at the turn of the year, after the Christmas truce and the various peace feelers were shown to be unavailing. Both Japanese and Italian communists have put much stress on the "fortress China" concept which has since come to dominate Peking's thinking. This appears to be based on Peking's view that the US is determined to extend the war to China, and that therefore to negotiate a settlement with the US which made any concessions to it would allow the US to strengthen its position preparatory to an attack. Internally, the "fortress China" concept would require the elimination of all opposition, especially in that section of the leadership inclined to compromise either with the West or with the Soviet Union.

On the technique of the power struggle, *Mundo Obrero* comments on the "strange silence" of Mao Tse-tung, which leads it to think that he has become "a mere myth used by others." The Chinese party leaders now described as revisionists "probably never intended to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought," but their opposition is presumably directed against those "who are trying to take over the myth." Indeed, they might even regard themselves as the "true" interpreters of the thought, says *Mundo Obrero*, drawing no doubt on its firsthand experience of ideological and power motives in communist leadership struggles. In view of Mao's special position in the party's history, "to be able to claim possession of his thought, and to be speaking on

his behalf, gives one great power. It is logical that all factions should try to claim that he is on their side."

The German account argues that it was only after "mass reprisals" against leading officials, including members of the leadership, and the dissolution of a number of provincial party organizations, that a session of the central committee could be safely held. Here, too, the East Germans' firsthand experience of communist power struggles is very useful, for the point of having a purge before the session of the central committee, as Ulbricht knows, is to remove party officials who are likely to cause trouble. So it came about that when the Chinese central committee met, "the most extreme forces got their way." But Peking's failure to use the established party network to give effect to the new policy "shows the Chinese leaders' deep distrust of their own party." According to *Mundo Obrero*, the forces of opposition are not "reactionary," as Peking describes them, nor are they "a myth."

"What one knows suggests that they are the entire party – the awakening of the communist conscience of the men who made the Great March, and the most extraordinary revolution in history since the great October socialist revolution."

The Kremlin is evidently getting ready to welcome the straying sheep back to the fold. It cannot allow *Pravda* to say so, because this would be used by Peking to whip up nationalist anti-Soviet sentiment against the opposition.

VICTOR ZORZA

The Adventures of Arthur Goldberg

by Andrew Kopkind

I am an American, Chicago born . . . and go at things as I have taught myself, free-style, and will make the record in my own way: first to knock, first admitted; sometimes an innocent knock, sometimes a not so innocent. But a man's character is his fate, says Heraclitus, and in the end there isn't any way to disguise the nature of the knocks by acoustical work on the door or gloving the knuckles.

— AUGIE MARCH

United Nations

It was Arthur Goldberg's day for gloved knuckles and the innocent knock. He sloshed through ankle-deep carpet to the General Assembly speaker's platform, stopped abruptly at the rostrum, and directed a stiff oriental bow at the three presiding officers, who were, as luck would have it, Orientals themselves. Assembly President Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, UN Secretary General U Thant and Undersecretary C. V. Narasimhan re-

ceived the courtesy and nodded slightly. The tableau brought to mind an old print of the first encounter between a European explorer and the nobles of Nagasaki. The conversation was of trade and exchange to mutual advantage. But in every eye, both slanted and round, was the trace of suspicion that the advantages would not always be mutual.

Goldberg gave his first speech of the 21st Assembly

session in the flat, Chicago tones which seem to be the exact American equivalent of Andrei Gromyko's flat, Russian tones. Now and then Goldberg wagged a finger, or stretched out a word: the war in Vietnam was "a source of g-r-a-v-e concern." For the most part, the rhetoric was old hat. "South Vietnam is under an attack . . . by forces directed and supplied from the North . . . to force upon the people of South Vietnam a system which they have not chosen by any peaceful process." The US, in all good faith, had "responded to appeals from South Vietnam for military assistance."

A Political Act

But in Goldberg's own view, he was going further than any Administration official had done in limiting US war demands and seeking a negotiated end to the fighting. He offered to take the "first step" in de-escalation by stopping the bombing of North Vietnam—in response to Hanoi's assurances of a corresponding move. He denied that the US was seeking a permanent base in South Vietnam, and he hinted that the Viet Cong could participate in negotiations. The US would accept a "neutral" South Vietnam if it had to.

No one at the UN—least of all Ambassador Goldberg—thought the speech contained a formula for ending the war. It was, first of all, a political act, not a diplomatic one. Like the Great Peace Offensive last winter, Goldberg's mini-offensive might create pressures in Hanoi, Peking or Moscow which would unlock the stalemate. Moreover, he thought it was clear to the 118 other nations represented in the Assembly that the US was making a commitment to a "political solution" of the war.

The nature of Arthur Goldberg's optimism is such that he had no difficulty reconciling his plea for peace with the announcement, made by Defense Secretary McNamara quite by chance, it was said, at approximately the same hour, that the Pentagon was increasing production of tactical aircraft by about a third, to meet the needs of the Vietnam war in 1968. For Goldberg's job, like that of any American ambassador to the UN, is to cry "peace" at every opportunity. Adlai Stevenson did it when US-equipped planes were over Cuba; Goldberg does it when US planes are over North Vietnam. "The ambassador's job," a former State Department official said recently, "is to be the smile on the President's Cold War face." President Kennedy was somewhat more blunt; he is reported to have referred once to Stevenson, more in sadness than scorn, as "my official liar."

But Goldberg was proud of his Assembly speech. It was not particularly eloquent, nor did it go as far as Goldberg had wanted, but more than any of the others he had given, it was his own. Last year's opening address, he has told friends, was a "shopping list" pre-

pared by gnomes deep in the State Department bureaucracy. Goldberg delivered it a few weeks after President Johnson plucked him from the Supreme Court and sent him to New York.

"It was a *terrible* speech," an old hand at the UN Secretariat recalled. "I'm told Goldberg knows his speeches are like that—not terrible, perhaps, but they contain clichés one wishes he didn't say. There are people around here who make collections of them. His speeches are full of labored invocations of freedom and peace. Since Kennedy's death, most people around the UN have gotten very cynical. I'm not sure Goldberg understands that. It baffles me that such a clever man doesn't realize that he sounds insincere. He seems caught between Kennedy's practical idealism and the blatant power politics you see in Washington now."

At times, Goldberg seems to realize his predicament quite completely. He has confided to associates that he knows he has an "impossible job." In late August and early September, he was engaged in a bitter fight with the State Department over China policy, and despite his famous "direct line" to the President, he lost almost everything. Goldberg wanted to make a new initiative to Peking at the UN; the exact terms were debatable. But the idea was vetoed. Goldberg was compelled to reiterate the old clichés—with just the slightest suggestion of the possibility of accommodation.

Goldberg's failure to influence US policy on China points up the trap of his role as UN ambassador. He is a spokesman for the "soft line," but he has little effect in shaping the actual policy. There is a great difference between an "idea man" and a policy-maker. In a sense, Goldberg's direct line to the President—established as a condition for taking the job in the first place—impedes rather than assists his part in decision-making. He has no special back-stop in the White House or, for that matter, in the State Department. Stevenson's "man in the White House" was Arthur Schlesinger; his man at State was Assistant Secretary Harlan Cleveland. His relationship with Kennedy may have been less cordial than Goldberg's with Johnson, but there was a kind of US Mission "presence" in Washington in those days.

No one has taken Schlesinger's position. President Johnson's reorganization of the White House staff has demolished the "little State Department" that Kennedy established. At the big State Department, Joseph Sisco, a career man (15 years in the same Bureau of International Organization Affairs), has taken over from Cleveland. There are few regrets for Cleveland's departure; he very nearly wrecked the UN by having the US insist Russia and France (and others) pay their shares of maintaining "peace-keeping" operations around the world, whether they approved of them or not. But throughout Stevenson's ambassadorship, Cleveland earnestly represented Adlai's interests in the

State Department. Sisco plays a somewhat different game. "He's the bureaucrat's bureaucrat," an Administration official observed recently. On the China issue, he gave Goldberg no support at all. Those in the State Department who are presumably closest to the UN are now spokesmen for the hardest line on Vietnam. Former Ambassador Lodge can be expected to shoot down any suggestions Goldberg may have for softening the US position; Secretary Rusk, himself a former Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs, will certainly oppose Goldberg from Washington. At the White House, President Johnson's closest foreign policy adviser, Walt Whitman Rostow, proposed the bombing policy which Goldberg is known to oppose, and is an ardent exponent of the "holy war" against communism (particularly Chinese communism), which Goldberg decried at the UN.

Emissary to the World

The whole system works against Goldberg. He has an impact on only a few issues, but he lends his name, and his liberal following, to the range of President Johnson's foreign policy. That is nothing new with UN ambassadors. Since President Eisenhower made Henry Cabot Lodge a member of his cabinet, the ambassadors have always been chief spokesmen for the most "liberal" line of the Administration they serve.

Most ambassadors from other countries have reasonably easy times of it at the UN. But the American representatives have more roles than any of them can successfully juggle. Goldberg has constituencies all over the lot. He represents not only the US, but in a special sense, he is Lyndon Johnson's personal emissary to the world. More than that, he was chosen, among many reasons, because of his standing with the liberals of his own party (as was Lodge and Stevenson), as a kind of concession to their concern with internationalism and the "peace issue." He has a personal constituency in the labor movement, where he spent most of his adult life before coming into President Kennedy's cabinet as Secretary of Labor in 1961. In the middle of his busiest week of the year at the UN, he took time out from preparing the Assembly speech to address the Steelworkers' Atlantic City convention (Johnson had been invited for that day, but couldn't make it).

Like Stevenson, Goldberg is Washington's ambassador to New York. He goes to the opera (and deftly arbitrated a musicians' labor dispute at the Met five years ago) and floats freely in the intellectual and cultural scene. "Goldberg's not an intellectual," an old associate observed not long ago, "but he mixes well with intellectuals; he's comfortable with them." His wife, Dorothy, is an abstractionist painter. He keeps his lines open to New York politics, while not actually

being in them, but he has a fine political sense and could not stay away if he tried. "He has a rather old-fashioned notion of the balanced ticket," the same associate said. "He has to have someone from every ethnic bloc, every religion, every political camp around him. He thinks it's very important." Only occasionally now does he take part in election campaigns; in the most recent example, he hedged his "neutrality" toward aging (to be kind) Rep. Barratt O'Hara, a Chicagoan of the Mayor Daley persuasion, against a primary challenge by Goldberg's long-time law associate, Abner Mikva. Reform-minded Democrats were dismayed at Goldberg's behavior. But the Chicago machine is another of his constituencies, O'Hara is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee (and a former congressional member of the US delegation to the UN), and Mikva was sounding a bit too dove-like on Vietnam for the Administration's comfort. Whether Goldberg hankers after higher office himself is uncertain. When he took the ambassadorship, Washington politicians guessed that he was really after a job as secretary of state, or perhaps senator from New York or Illinois, or even the vice presidency. Anyone could draw contingency plans for all those offices, but for the moment they appear to be occupied, and Goldberg must make do at the UN.

Unlike any other ambassador, or indeed, unlike anyone else now in high office, Goldberg has a very peculiar constituency, about which he has a deep ambivalence. He is the Administration's ambassador to the Jews, and the Jews' tribune in the government. He finds the idea somewhat dismaying, but there is not much he can do about it. As a certified ethnic bloc in the pluralistic system Goldberg so stirringly defends, American Jews demand that one of their number be chosen for a major office. Every Jewish grandmother knows that Goldberg's appointment to the UN was somehow "good for the Jews," in the way that Kennedy's presidency was "good for the Irish" (as well as the Catholics), and such figures as Anthony Celebrezze, Robert Weaver, and John Gronouski were good for their re-

COMING: *The Congress —
how each legislator voted
on the key issues
in 1965-66*

spective ethnic, racial or "national" brethren. It works out, of course, that they can do very little "good" that would not be done by anyone in their jobs, but their symbolic role is valuable for establishing identity and boosting morale. President Johnson understands the value as well as any grandmother. When he appointed Goldberg to the UN, Johnson told Internal Revenue Commissioner Sheldon Cohen how wonderful it was that a nice Jewish fellow from the West Side of Chicago could be an ambassador to the United Nations!

After some initial anxiety, UN hands have ceased worrying about Goldberg's relationship with the Arab-bloc representatives. The Arabs have not let up their attacks on Israel, but they do not hold Goldberg responsible for its existence; they take him as he is.

For some, the faint aura of the West Side of Chicago about Goldberg is his most attractive characteristic. He is proud, and a little self-conscious about it all; in Washington, he used to treat cabinet members and their families to Sunday morning brunches of lox and bagels, and he invited card-carrying WASPS to his Passover *seder*. Despite the overlay of sophistication and a lifetime in political affairs, Goldberg has not lost those rich accents which are a mixture of mid-America and the Jewish ghetto, the *haimish* and the heartland.

A Free-Wheeling, Direct Style

It does not attract everyone. Diplomats from foreign ministry establishments around the world, as well as some career State Department officers are baffled and sometimes put off by Goldberg's free-wheeling, direct style. He is "patriotic" in the way second-generation Americans often are. They find it smothering, or distasteful, or gauche. They make invidious comparisons between Goldberg's "overbearing" manner and Stevenson's cool, detached (if self-pitying) elegance. In the middle of the Pakistan-Indian "war," a UN delegate remembered, Goldberg called a press conference for 7:30 on a Saturday night. There had been rumors all day that China was moving against Sikkim, and correspondents and representatives crowded into Goldberg's conference to hear the announcement of what they supposed was a major US *démarche* in Asia. Instead, Goldberg was all smiles, and he casually told the audience that he had some good news: his son was engaged to be married: "Seasoned correspondents went green," the delegate said. "It was horrifying."

Despite the occasional displays of sentiment and naïveté which stuffier delegates find annoying, Goldberg seems to have won the respect of many UN members for his sheer energy and a certain honesty in holding up the US side. "He has great technical ability in international affairs," a Western European diplomat said of Goldberg, "although I sometimes wonder

whether he has any great flair for understanding what foreigners are up to. He has boundless energy, of course. He carefully prepares all this work, and is amazingly well-informed on every subject. Ambassador Stevenson was not, you know. Especially toward the end, he did not seem to care about his work. He was quick to tell you privately how much he disagreed with US policy. I don't know why he didn't resign. He was a very vain man, but Goldberg is a very ambitious man.

"Goldberg does seem to have an extraordinary capacity for self-delusion, however. I suppose all delegates must have it. The trouble with the UN is that a lot of it is window-dressing – a lot of it, to put it mildly, is bogus. How can a serious man stand it? For instance, Goldberg has been very strong on committing the US, for the first time, to sanctions against Rhodesia, but everyone knows damn well that the US is trading like crazy with Rhodesia and South Africa. The China policy, of course, is an utter disaster, although that is not Goldberg's fault. He is saddled with a pretty mediocre delegation; if you try to explain it to anyone besides Americans, it's a very hard thing to do. Ambassador (James) Nabrit is impossible; he hardly functions at all, and I'm afraid James Roosevelt doesn't have a very good idea of what is important and what is not.

"But Goldberg is much better than they are. He was one of the best presidents of the Security Council we ever had. He treated it as high-level negotiation, not a fixed battlefield. He was original; during the Kashmir crisis he used negotiating techniques as he would with rival unions. That was a nice triumph for him, but it was the kind of crisis that could be solved by the application of a formula, even though it was difficult to work it out. The great powers were in rare agreement. That is the only time the Security Council can be effective. It can do nothing with Vietnam."

It occurs to some observers after a few days at the UN that only a person like Arthur Goldberg *can* be a US ambassador. As a vehicle for keeping the peace or settling international conflicts, the United Nations is no miracle worker. As a forum, if not a marketplace for the nations of the world, it is at least busy, and a shrewd, sensible negotiator with more than a touch of romantic idealism seems well placed in the middle of it. A poster on the 42nd Street bus makes everything clear: under a photograph of Goldberg chatting amiably with a crowd of delegates, the headline reads, "A trip to the United Nations Headquarters can be educational and inspirational. What's more, it's fun."

Despite the traps and the frustrations, Goldberg is enjoying himself. He might agree with Augie March: "I may well be a flop at this line of endeavor. Columbus too thought he was a flop, probably, when they sent him back in chains. Which didn't prove there was no America."

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Kurt Vonnegut on Target

by C. D. B. Bryan

Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., is 44 years old and lives with his wife and six children in West Barnstable on Cape Cod. During the 1955-56 term he taught at the Writers' Workshop of the University of

Mother Night

by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.
(Harper & Row; \$4.95)

*God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater,
or, Pearls Before Swine*

by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.
(Holt, Rinehart & Winston; \$4.95)

Cat's Cradle

by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.
(Holt, Rinehart & Winston; \$3.95)

Player Piano

by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.
(Holt, Rinehart & Winston; \$4.95)

Idaho, and now teaches English in a private school on the Cape. He once worked for General Electric, his biography tells us, but Vonnegut "is a scientist only in as much as he is interested in the science of living reasonably and kindly." He was also volunteer fireman in Alpaus, New York - Badge 155. He has written six books and over a hundred short stories, articles, and reviews. Among his fans are Conrad Aiken, Nelson Algren, Marc Connelly, Jules Feiffer, Graham Greene, Granville Hicks, Terry Southern. Still Vonnegut has not received the acceptance due him from the reading public. Four of his books are available: *Mother Night*, published a few months ago; *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater, or, Pearls Before Swine*, 1965; *Cat's Cradle*, 1963; and *Player Piano*, 1952 reissued this year. Out of print are his two other novels, *Canary in a Cathouse* and the science fiction paperback, *Sirens of Titan*. What prevents Vonnegut from being a major satirist on the order, say, of John Barth is that Vonnegut takes very little seriously, and although he excels at that more gentle barb Irony, he

lacks the anger and impatience which great satire demands. Nevertheless, he is the most readable and amusing of the new humorists.

Mother Night is narrated by Howard W. Campbell, Jr., an American citizen who broadcast anti-Semitic propaganda for the Nazi's during the Second World War. Campbell had been recruited by a US counterintelligence agent in 1938, and Campbell's broadcasts carried coded information out of Germany. Campbell never knew what the information was. (Once the information was that Campbell's wife was captured and presumed dead.) Towards the end of the war Campbell is captured by Lt. Bernard B. O'Hare of the American Third Army, and taken to a nearby German concentration camp so that the American "traitor" would see the lime pits, the stacks of emaciated dead and the gallows capable of hanging six at a time. From the end of each rope hangs a camp guard. Campbell expects also to be hanged:

"I took an interest in the peace of the

six guards at the ends of their ropes. They had died fast.

My photograph was taken while I looked up at the gallows. Lieutenant O'Hare was standing behind me, lean as a young wolf, as full of hatred as a rattlesnake.

The picture was on the cover of *Life*, and came close to winning a Pulitzer Prize."

So that the Americans will not have to admit that he had been a counterspy, Campbell is freed on nonexistent technicalities. He returns to New York, moves into an attic in Greenwich Village and tries to start a new life. One of his neighbors is an alcoholic with the alias George Kraft, actually Colonel Iona Potapov, resident Soviet agent in the United States since 1935. Another character is the Reverend Doctor Lionel Jason David Jones, DDS, DD, who believes the teeth of Jews, Negroes, Catholics and quite possibly Unitarians prove beyond question that these groups are degenerate, a theory he advances in his publication, *The White Christian Minuteman*. Jones is also founder of the Western Hemisphere of the Bible, a university which "held no classes, taught nothing, did all its business by mail. It awarded doctorates in

Discontinuity

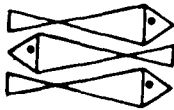
Often I dream the highway ends,
the seamless cloverleaf unbends
and breaks off clean.

No signs to guide
a man or warn the would-be suicide
where waits his fall. Alone in my machine
I hear the sirens call.

Where asphalt cracks I split
a second looking down:
New highways cloverleaf through neon towns,
the sky is paved with light, there is no grief
but mine.

I awake to the keen
of horns on the street below.

GERALD JONAS

**FARRAR
STRAUS
GIROUX**


Bernard Malamud

THE FIXER. "A novel of startling importance."—ELIZABETH HARDWICK, *Vogue*. "One of the year's richest novels, a literary event in any season." —ELIOT FREMONT-SMITH, *N.Y. Times*. *A Literary Guild selection*. 275,000 copies in print. \$5.95

Walker Percy

THE LAST GENTLEMAN. "Altogether richer and more intriguing than his first novel, *The Moviegoer*, which won him the National Book Award in 1962." —JOYCE CAROL OATES, *The Nation*. "A distinguished work of art." —*N.Y. Times Book Review*. 3rd printing. \$5.95

Colette

EARTHLY PARADISE: *Colette's Autobiography, drawn from the writings of her lifetime by ROBERT PHELPS.* "Here at last is the reader's great Colette book." —JANET FLANNER, *Life*. 3rd printing. \$6.95

Alberto Moravia

THE LIE. "A bold, intricate, astonishing new novel . . . Sex, boredom, meaninglessness, the genuine and false, are the elements which compose it." —RICHARD GILMAN, front page, *N.Y. Times Book Review*. 3rd printing. \$5.95

Isaac Bashevis Singer

IN MY FATHER'S COURT. "In this heartwarming account, the luminous novelist and fabulist returns in memory to the sources of his art . . . The dramas enacted in his boyhood home seem like scenes straight out of his mature fiction." —*Newsweek*. 5th printing. \$5.50

Wilfrid Sheed

OFFICE POLITICS. A devastating, comic novel about the underlings on the staff of a small magazine. "In the style of early Waugh and Powell: funny, sad, implacably intelligent." —DWIGHT MACDONALD. \$4.95

Now at your bookstore

FARRAR, STRAUS & GIROUX

the field of divinity, framed and under glass, for eighty dollars a throw." Campbell's wartime activities had made him a hero to Jones and his followers, one of whom is Jones' chauffeur, a 73-year-old Negro, Robert Sterling Wilson, the "Black Fuehrer of Harlem," who had been imprisoned as a Japanese agent during the war. The first time Campbell meets him, Wilson says:

"The colored people are gonna rise up in righteous wrath, and they're gonna take over the world; White folks gonna finally lose!"

"All right, Robert," Jones said patiently.

"The colored people gonna have hydrogen bombs all their own," he said. "They working on it right now. Pretty soon gonna be Japan's turn to drop one. The rest of the colored folks gonna give them the honor of dropping the first one."

"Where are they going to drop it?" I said.

"China, most likely," he said.

"On other colored people?" I said. He looked at me pityingly. "Whoever told you a Chinaman was a colored man?" he said.

Because of the publicity given Campbell by Jones' White Christian Minute-men, Campbell again comes to the attention of ex-lieutenant O'Hare, now the Americanism Chairman of the Francis X Donovan Post of the American Legion, who writes, "I was very surprised and disappointed to hear you weren't dead yet." Both O'Hare and the reverend dentist Jones had been informed of Campbell's whereabouts by the Soviet spy, George Kraft. Kraft wants to pressure Campbell into going to Mexico where he would then be kidnapped and flown to Moscow to be put on display "as a prime example of the sort of Fascist war criminal this country shelters."

What lifts *Mother Night* out of the realm of easy entertainment is Campbell's awareness of his guilt. His desire for punishment compels him to give himself up; and another neighbor, a Jewish doctor who had survived Auschwitz reluctantly arranges Campbell's capture by "Israeli agents"—a tailor, watchmaker and a pediatrician who, with Campbell's consent, turn him in the next morning to Israeli officials.

While in Israel Campbell meets Eichmann who asks, "Do you think a literary agent is absolutely necessary?" Campbell replies, "For book clubs and movie sales in the United States of America, absolutely." Campbell knows that if the Israeli government will not punish him, he must. In the end he executes himself.

In his introduction to *Mother Night*, Vonnegut offers the following: "This is the only story of mine whose moral I know. I don't think it's a marvelous moral; I simply happen to know what it is: We are what we pretend to be, so we must be careful what we pretend to be." Howard W. Campbell, Jr., pretended to be a vicious, anti-Semitic Nazi. His guilt lay in his knowledge that he had been far more successful at it than he needed to be.

Cat's Cradle is the account of a writer who wanted to record what important Americans had done on the day the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The book, to be called *The Day The World Ended*, "was to be a Christian book. I was a Christian then," explains the author narrator. "I am a Bokonist now." Bokonism is a religion invented by Vonnegut. The first sentence in the Books of Bokonon is: "All of the true things I am about to tell you are shameless lies." Another is, "Pay no attention to Caesar. Caesar has no idea what's really going on." Most of Bokonon's teachings are found in calypso "psalms" but the gist of it is captured in its "Genesis":

"In the beginning, God created the earth, and he looked upon it in His cosmic loneliness.

And God said, 'Let Us make living creatures out of mud, so the mud can see what We have done.' And God created every living creature that now moveth, and one was man. Mud as man alone could speak. God leaned close as mud as man sat up, looked around, and spoke. Man blinked. 'What is the purpose of all this?' he asked politely.

'Everything must have a purpose?' asked God.

'Certainly,' said man.

'Then I leave it to you to think of one for all this,' said God. And He went away."

Vonnegut's theology is also voiced in



HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO OWN THE "WORLD'S LARGEST BOOK STORE?"

Sound like an impossible dream?

Perhaps. But, you'll find membership in the American Cultural Society is the closest thing yet to owning your own bookstore. Now, you can have your choice from the more than 166,000 books in print at guaranteed savings of 25% to 60%! If you love literature and fine art, you'll want to become a member of this unique new society.

No purchase obligation!

There is absolutely no obligation to buy at any time, and you will never be annoyed with "monthly selections". You buy only the books you really want to read, and each comes at a guaranteed savings of 25% to 60%. There are no minimum purchase requirements.

American Cultural Society was designed for people who know their own minds.

Here's how it operates:

\$5 entitles you to lifetime membership in the American Cultural Society. You will receive the Society's periodic publication "Book Mark" which lists hundreds of titles including the most recent fiction and nonfiction best sellers. You will find a generous sampling of the world's finest literature at large reductions.

"Book Mark"—a periodic catalog of the world's finest literature!

The books you order from "Book Mark" will always be priced at 25% to 60% off the publisher's regular list price plus a small postage and handling charge. However,

SAVE 25-60%
with no purchase obligation!

you are never limited to selections from "Book Mark." Any book, from the more than 166,000 in print, may be ordered at a 25% saving from regular list price. (Discounts are lower on technical manuals, reference books and texts. As a member, write our Reader Service Department for special price quotes.)

Lowest possible prices and satisfaction guaranteed!

Society prices are the lowest possible! The nationwide buying power of the Society commands vast discounts—discounts which are passed on to you as a member.

Books purchased through the Society are always regular, full-size publishers editions. We guarantee complete satisfaction on every order or your money refunded.

To become a lifetime member of the American Cultural Society, fill out the membership application below, and mail with your check or money order for \$5. "Book Mark" will be sent immediately.

Check these sample Society savings!

Title	Reg.	Society
<i>Is Paris Burning?</i>	\$ 6.95	\$4.52
<i>A Thousand Days</i>	9.00	5.85
<i>How To Avoid Probate</i>	4.95	3.40
<i>Valley of the Dolls</i>	5.95	4.47
<i>In Cold Blood</i>	5.95	3.99
<i>Human Sexual Response</i>	10.00	8.75
<i>The Source</i>	7.95	5.67
<i>My Life in Court</i>	5.95	3.99
<i>The Last Gentleman</i>	5.95	4.17
<i>Tai-Pan</i>	6.95	5.17
<i>Valley of the Dolls</i>	5.95	4.47
<i>ABZ of Love</i>	10.00	6.95
<i>Memories of The Future</i>	4.95	3.50
<i>In My Father's Court</i>	5.50	3.85
<i>The Magus</i>	7.95	5.67
<i>Being and Nothingness</i>	10.00	4.95
<i>The American Way of Death</i>	4.95	1.75
<i>The White House Cookbook</i>	6.95	4.95
<i>James Beard's Menus for Entertaining</i>	8.50	5.95
<i>Mastering the Art of French Cooking</i>	10.00	6.69

Gift Membership available!

With each \$5 regular membership, you may purchase one or more Gift Memberships at only \$3 each. The same lifetime membership privileges apply—including regular editions of "Book Mark" and no purchase obligation.

American Cultural Society



MAIL THIS APPLICATION TODAY!

(Please wait for membership materials before ordering books)

AMERICAN CULTURAL SOCIETY (109)
820 Shipley Street, Wilmington, Delaware 19801

Enclosed is \$5 (check or money order) for a regular lifetime membership in the American Cultural Society. Please send "Book Mark" immediately.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Enclosed also is \$ _____ for _____ gift memberships at \$3 each.
(Please enclose additional sheet of paper with names and addresses of gift recipients.)

his science fiction novel, *Sirens of Titan* in which religion is celebrated in the Church of God the Utterly Indifferent. Vonnegut is a proponent of the God is Dead theory and is convinced that all the evil in this world is perpetrated by man upon man. He is appalled by scientists and engineers. In *Cat's Cradle*, the author narrator interviews Dr. Breed, head of the Research Laboratory of the General Forge and Foundry Company – the laboratory in which Dr. Felix Hoenikker developed the atomic bomb. Dr. Breed is dismayed because "every question I asked implied that the creators of the atomic bomb had been criminal accessories to a murder most foul."

"Dr. Breed was astonished and then he got very sore. He drew back from me and grumbled, 'I gather you don't like scientists very much.'

'I wouldn't say that, sir.'

'All your questions seem aimed at getting me to admit that scientists are heartless, conscienceless, narrow boobies, indifferent to the fate of the human race, or maybe not really members of the human race at all.'



DREAM Le Colas (France)

Original color lithograph by Pierre Le Colas, an outstanding example of today's School of Paris. The edition is limited to 180 impressions. Each is signed and numbered by the artist. In delicate blues, greens, browns. Mat size 20 x 26, picture 15 x 20½. Priced at only \$24, this original color lithograph is likely to increase many times in value over the years. Orders will be filled while the edition lasts. Guaranteed refund unless delighted. Order today from ART OF ALL NATIONS, INC., Studio 28, Harmon, New York 10520.

To receive catalogs of original color lithographs and engravings, rare prints, etc., issued from time to time during year, send \$1.

'That's putting it pretty strong'."

Vonnegut's hero in *Player Piano*, the novel which preceded *Cat's Cradle* by nine years, is again a man against science. But this time he is an insider, Dr. Paul Proteus, manager of the Ilium Works, a fully automated factory which produces just about everything. The time is the Electronics Age, perhaps 100 years in the future. But whereas in *Cat's Cradle* the rebellion is against that segment of science which produces better methods by which man can annihilate himself, in *Player Piano* Vonnegut attacks the science of automation through which man produces machines which replace man's pride, his usefulness, his meaning.

Vonnegut's best-known book is *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater, or, Pearls Before Swine*. Eliot Rosewater, whom Marc Connelly describes as "the most truthful picture of a saint since El Greco's Sebastian," is heir to the Rosewater fortune which provides an income of \$3.5 million a year. The antagonists are everywhere, but the best articulated is Norman Mushari, a Lebanese hired by the Washington, D. C. law firm of McAllister, Robjont, Reed and McGee, designers of the Rosewater Foundation and Rosewater Corporation. The author points out that Mushari "would never have been hired if the other partners hadn't felt that McAllister's operations could do with just a touch more viciousness." Mushari's guiding principle in law had been stated by one of his former law school professors:

"In every big transaction there is a magic moment during which a man has surrendered a treasure, and during which the man who is due to receive it has not yet done so. An alert lawyer will make that moment his own, possessing the treasure for a magic microsecond, taking a little of it, passing it on. If the man who is to receive the treasure is unused to wealth, has an inferiority complex and shapeless feelings of guilt, as most people do, the lawyer can often take as much as half the bundle, and still receive the recipient's blubbering thanks."

God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater hinges upon Mushari's knowledge that all he need do is prove Eliot Rosewater insane,

and the fortune is transferred to the lesser branch of Rosewaters living in Rhode Island. Mushari has a good case. In every telephone booth in Rosewater, Indiana, where Eliot lives, there is a sticker: "Don't kill yourself. Call the Rosewater Foundation." The stickers had been placed there by Eliot. If a person called, he was usually given some money, often with the suggestion that the caller take two aspirin with a glass of wine. Eliot had been under psychoanalysis; but the night after the psychiatrist resigned from the case, Eliot Rosewater and his wife, Sylvia, attend a new staging of *Aida* at the Met, for which the Rosewater Foundation had provided the costumes. "Everything was fine until the last scene of the opera, during which the hero and the heroine were placed in an airtight chamber to suffocate. As the doomed pair filled their lungs, Eliot called out to them, 'You will last a lot longer if you don't try to sing.' Eliot stood, leaned far out of his box, told the singers, 'Maybe you don't know anything about oxygen, but I do. Believe me, you must not sing.'" Eliot's wife led him away "like a toy balloon."

The only people with whom Eliot Rosewater feels complete identification are volunteer firemen. "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers," he tells them, "joined in the serious business of keeping our food, shelter, clothing, and loved ones from combining with oxygen." The one other group he admires are science fiction writers. On one of his alcoholic binges, Eliot crashes a science fiction writers convention held in a motel in Milford, Pennsylvania. He interrupts their meeting to say, "I love you sons of bitches. You're all I read any more. You're the only ones who'll talk about the *really* terrific changes going on, the only ones crazy enough to know that life is a space voyage, and not a short one either, but one that will last for billions of years. You're the only ones with guts enough to *really* care about the future, who *really* know what machines do to us, what cities do

COMING

Stanley Kunitz
on *The Letters*
of Wallace Stevens

to us, what big, simple ideas do to us, what tremendous mistakes, accidents, and catastrophes do to us. You're the only ones zany enough to agonize over time and distances without limit, over mysteries that will never die, over the fact that we are right now determining whether the space voyage for the next billion years or so is going to be Heaven or Hell."

Vonnegut was born in Indianapolis in 1922. During the Second World War he was a battalion scout in the US Army and was captured by the Germans. He became part of a prisoner work group employed by a Dresden factory which made a vitamin-enriched malt syrup for pregnant women. Dresden contained no troop concentrations or war industries. It was an "open city" - not to be attacked - and yet on the night of February 13, 1945, British and American bombers attempted to obliterate Dresden through the meticulous and scientific creation of a fire storm. They were about 75 percent successful. In his introduction to *Mother Night*, Vonnegut writes:

"There were no particular targets for the bombs. The hope was that they would create a lot of kindling and drive the firemen underground.

And then hundreds of thousands of tiny incendiaries were scattered over the kindling, like seeds on freshly turned loam. More bombs were dropped to keep the firemen in their holes, and all the little fires grew, joined one another, became one apocalyptic flame. Hey presto: fire storm. It was the largest massacre in European history, by the way. . . .

We didn't get to see the fire storm. We were in a cool meat-locker under a slaughterhouse with our six guards and ranks and ranks of dressed cadavers of cattle, pigs, horses and sheep. We heard the bombs walking around up there. Now and then there would be a gentle shower of calamine. If we had gone above to take a look we would have been turned into artifacts characteristic of fire storms: seeming pieces of charred firewood two or three feet long - ridiculously small human beings, or jumbo fried grasshoppers, if you will.

The malt syrup factory was gone. Everything was gone but the cellars

The most important names... The most significant ideas...
are coming to you from the new

UNIVERSAL LIBRARY

Just Published:

Harry Braverman
THE FUTURE OF RUSSIA

UL-201 \$1.95

An analysis of what is happening in Russia today: economically, politically, socially. "Hard-headed, bold and brilliant." *The Washington Post* - Stephen S. Rosenfeld

Justus Buchler
NATURE AND JUDGMENT

UL-207 \$2.65

A general philosophy of experience, that provides new insight into human behavior. Judgment, Query, Experience and Meaning are the titles of each chapter.

Louis de Broglie
PHYSICS AND MICROPHYSICS

UL-206 \$2.25

Nobel prize winner Louis de Broglie discusses the basic ideas of modern physics.

Ilya Ehrenburg
MEMOIRS: 1921-1941

UL-203 \$2.95

An account of international, literary and political life in the twenties and thirties by Russia's leading writer. "A carefully polished mirror of those flawed times."

Andrew Field - *Book Week*

Joseph Gies
BRIDGES AND MEN

UL-205 \$2.95

An historic survey of bridges and the men who built them from the first cavemen to 20th century engineers.

Conor Cruise O'Brien
TO KATANGA AND BACK:
A UN Case History

UL-196 \$2.45

A personal memoir of the author's experience as UN representative in Africa. "... this book is a remarkable contribution to historical literature."

The New Statesman

John Bardach
DOWNSTREAM:
A Natural History of the River

UL-197 \$2.95

The life-story of any river, and the plant and animal life it supports. "This is a book to read from cover to cover, to browse in, to use as a reference, to learn from."

Christian Science Monitor
- Marian Sorenson

Howard Moss
THE MAGIC LANTERN OF
MARCEL PROUST

UL-200 \$1.95

A brilliant critical study of *Remembrance of Things Past* which explores the novel's theme and complex imagery.

M. L. Rosenthal
A PRIMER OF EZRA POUND

UL-199 \$1.45

A concise, factual, well-documented guide to the poetry of Ezra Pound.

A. L. Rowse
CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE:
HIS LIFE AND TIME

UL-198 \$2.65

A vivid biography of Marlowe by one of the world's foremost historians of the Elizabethan Age.

Henry Green
BACK

UL-204 \$2.25

A story about a man's return from war "to find everything the same - and at the same time different."

Maurice Valency
THE FLOWER AND THE CASTLE:
An Introduction to Modern Drama

UL-202 \$2.95

A provocative introduction to modern drama, with particular attention to Henrik Ibsen and August Strindberg.

Recently Published:

Hermann Broch, with an introduction by Hannah Arendt.

THE DEATH OF VIRGIL

UL-184 \$2.95

"Perhaps the best novel by a European since Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain*" *The New Yorker*

D. W. Brogan
THE PRICE OF REVOLUTION

UL-195 \$1.95

A history of major political upheavals ranging from the American Revolution to the present day.

Stanley Edgar Hyman
THE TANGLED BANK:
Darwin, Marx, Frazer and Freud
as Imaginative Writers

UL-193 \$2.45

A study of the four most significant thinkers of the past century and of the ideas that shaped our time.

Junichiro Tanizaki
THE MAKIOKA SISTERS

UL-190 \$2.45

"The most important Japanese novel published in the years following the war." *The Saturday Review*

Franco Venturi
ROOTS OF REVOLUTION

UL-192 \$3.45

"Not only intellectual history in the grand manner. It is as exciting as an oversized panoramic Russian novel."
Bertram D. Wolfe,
New York Times Book Review



GROSSET & DUNLAP, INC.

51 MADISON AVENUE; NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010



The Southern Review

ROBERT FROST *windfall!*



The Fall Issue of The Southern Review presents feature articles on Frost by Richard Eberhart, George W. Nitchie, Herbert Howarth, W. W. Robson and John Lynen. Other writings: Irving Howe, Samuel French Morse, Theodore Roethke, Robert Pack, Arturo Vivante and Robert Canzoneri.

Subscribe now for single Fall copy (\$1.25) or for the year (\$4.00).

_____ Fall copy only.
_____ year's subscription,
starting with Fall issue.
Enclosed is check payable to The
Southern Review for \$_____.
NAME: _____
ADDRESS: _____
CITY: _____
STATE: _____
ZIP: _____

The Southern Review

Co-editors Lewis P. Simpson
 Donald E. Stanford

Drawer D
University Station
Baton Rouge, La. 70803 U.S.A.

where 135,000 Hansels and Gretels had been baked like gingerbread men. So we were put to work as corpse miners, breaking into shelters, bringing bodies out. And I got to see many German types of all ages as death had found them, usually with valuables in their laps. Sometimes relatives would come to watch us dig. They were interesting, too.

So much for Nazis and me.

If I'd been born in Germany, I suppose I would have *been* a Nazi, bopping Jews and gypsies and Poles around, leaving boots sticking out of snowbanks, warming myself with

my secretly virtuous insides. So it goes."

And so goes Vonnegut's most powerful writing. All the anger, the shame, the shock, the guilt, the compassion, the irony, the control to produce great satire are *there*. For sheer barbarity the fire storms of Dresden and Hamburg surpass the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Why, then, does Vonnegut settle for such lovely, literate amusing attacks upon such simple targets as scientists, engineers, computer technicians, religion, the American Legion, artists, company picnics?

Below the Belt

by Tom Wicker

In Louisville, during the bitter 1928 presidential campaign, Al Smith spoke to local Democrats in the municipal auditorium. It turned out to be a hot speech—particularly after a Republican city employee fired up the auditorium boilers to the bursting point and thereby steamed out the Happy Warrior's audience.

Forty-four years earlier, a Republican posing as a naturalized citizen of

Dirty Politics
by Bruce Felknor
(Norton; \$5.95)

British birth wrote the British ambassador in Washington to ask whether the Empire's interests demanded a vote for Harrison or Cleveland. Ambassador Sackville-West, irritated by Irish-American support for Harrison, touted the imposter on Cleveland.

The ambassador's letter, published two weeks before the election, caused President Cleveland to send Sackville-West home and perhaps to lose the election, since the evidence of British support for Cleveland swung the Irish vote and hence New York to Harrison.

Dirty politics? Bruce Felknor, the executive director of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee (one supposes its work must be akin to that of Sisyphus), does not think so. In his book, *Dirty Politics*, Mr. Felknor shies from the moral stance, relishes a good political ploy when he sees one and, in relating

what has happened to candidates from Washington to Goldwater, tries hard to distinguish between mere hard cheese and the blatant low blow.

The Republican who fired up the Louisville boilers and the one who duped the British ambassador strike Mr. Felknor as legitimate entrepreneurs—rather like, in modern times, the irrepressible Richard Tuck of California, who among other impertinences infiltrated a spy aboard a Goldwater campaign train in 1964.

Mr. Felknor does not blanch, either, at the sound of harsh words or the ring of exaggeration; he will even countenance a little mud-slinging and distortion of the record, in a generous spirit of boys-will-be-boys. For instance, of the 1948 campaign, he observes:

"The major candidates [Truman and Dewey] were well-matched in hyperbole and invective and pithiness of speech. They offered a bitter, old-style, give-em-hell campaign that made diverting, often exciting, listening and reading. Neither suffered from sterility of speech and barrenness of image that sap the fun of electioneering. Neither leveled at the other serious, unsupported charges carefully calculated to destroy a public character."

This is about as sensible a way as any to describe the permissible limits of "clean politics." It leaves in Mr. Fel-

nor's rogues' gallery primarily the vote stealers, the vote buyers and the smear artists. And he makes it clear that he is by far the more disturbed by the last of these.

Vote buying and vote stealing, after all, are outright crimes, everywhere punishable by law — provided, of course, that the law did not perpetrate the vote buying and/or stealing. They are, in theory at least, illegal acts that diligent law enforcement and honest government can prevent. They belong in the category of corruption, a deeper social malaise than dirty political campaigning.

It is the smear artists — including the hatemongers, the filth peddlers, the burning-eyed zealots, the bigots, the single-minded partisans, all those who level "serious, unsupported charges carefully calculated to destroy a public character" — who make the ends of Mr. Felknor's mustache quiver. And it is precisely here that his sensible and knowledgeable book encounters its chief difficulty. If in the case of vote buying and stealing one can advocate manageable things, like more poll watchers, permanent registration and voting machines, one can only run against human nature in dealing with the smear artists.

Where does one draw the line between a smear and a clean, sharp attack? Mr. Felknor, for instance, labels dishonest the statement by Richard Nixon in 1954 that Truman, Stevenson and Acheson were "traitors to the high principles of the Democratic Party." But he absolves Nixon of any complicity in the smear attacks on Kennedy's religion in 1960.

But the Nixon remark in 1954 was made in the open and it required the willing cooperation of listeners to take the inference that the Democratic leaders were really "traitors" to their country. In 1960, when Nixon proposed a moratorium on any discussion of the religious issue, the Democrats recognized that to accept would leave them defenseless against other smear artists who would not abide by the moratorium and powerless to put John Kennedy forward as the champion of religious freedom in heavily Catholic areas. To assume that Nixon had devious motives in 1954 would lead one to assume that his motives were as devious in 1960; in fact, both are

WHY SHOULD YOU HIRE AN INVESTMENT MANAGER? —WEALTHY PEOPLE DO!

Because it pays! Experience has taught the wealthy the advantage of hiring professionals to manage their money. The wealthy discovered long ago that it takes special training, long experience and intangible special skills to manage money successfully. Your money is just as important to you, if not more so, than it is to the person of wealth. For you to give such a valuable, hard earned asset less than expert care is very risky and too often quite unprofitable.



INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT TRUST OF BOSTON

The advantages of joining the Investment Management Trust of Boston

The Investment Management Trust of Boston is **exclusively** designed to help people of moderate wealth preserve and build capital. To achieve this goal, we bring to bear on your capital the same advantages which, until now, have been available primarily to the wealthy. Successful investing is a difficult undertaking because the majority view is usually wrong. But, to uncover and analyze what is really going on is not easy. We simply believe we have many advantages and our chances of success probably greater than yours.

Our success is a direct result of your success

Think about this carefully! It is the heart of the IMT concept and extremely important to consider. **Our sole objective is to improve your financial position through carefully selected common stocks.** We have no securities to sell. We do not sell subscriptions to any financial publication. Our success depends on how well we do for you—and **nothing else!**

Right now is the best time to inquire about an investment program that many of the top people in the financial community feel is the wave of the future. An excellent answer for millions of investors who recognize the great value of investing their savings in the future of our country—yet all too often lose out by unknowingly "playing the stock market."

Won't you take a moment to inquire further about the IMT of Boston and how it can be the answer you have been looking for?



Yes, please send me additional information on the IMT of Boston personal management plan.

Investment Management Trust of Boston.
A Service of John Kenney Assoc., Inc.,
Prudential Tower—Suite 2290
Boston, Massachusetts 02199

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

value judgments; Mr. Felknor makes one but not the other. Perhaps no one but Nixon himself knows whether he was "dishonest" on either occasion.

Mr. Felknor is painfully non-partisan and raps both parties with equal fervor. He does not, however, take the 1960 Democrats to task for *using* the religious issue to gain votes in some states while preaching piously against using it where it would hurt them. He criticizes the Democratic television advertising campaign in 1964—and the Democrats generally—for distorting the Goldwater record and raising illicit fears about what he would do if elected; yet, all of Goldwater's past record (for example, *The Conscience of a Conservative*) made the Democratic distortions and exaggerations at least loosely grounded in fact and within the description of legitimate campaigning quoted above from Mr. Felknor himself.

And when the author asserts that Goldwater did not "use" the Walter Jenkins episode in his campaign, he must assume that all those remarks about the "curious crew" in the White House were not heard by the Goldwater audiences as having any particular meaning. It is hard to see how Nixon can be indicted for the 1964 "traitors" remark, when Goldwater is acquitted in the case of the "curious crew"; both remarks required the cooperation of the audience in taking an inference, both were made openly, and one can only assume the motives or reasoning that lay behind them.

Even in dealing with the so-called smear, therefore, one has to tread carefully in charging dirty politics. Mr. Felknor makes the obvious point when he observes that it usually depends on whose ox is being gored; he is inclined,

for instance, to forgive Lyndon Johnson for whatever happened in Duval County, Texas, in 1948, on the grounds that in 1942 that county's flexible boxes had been stuffed *against* LBJ and one must expect a politician to learn from experience.

Mr. Felknor deserves hearty support in condemning the cropped photo, the doctored tape recording, the anonymous smear pamphlet, the vicious whispering campaign, the outright lie and the sneak attack, and he documents many instructive cases of these and other indisputable smears.

The author probably is right in his

concern for the future of American politics if these tactics should become dominant. Still, he demonstrates that political tricksters have been at their dubious trade since the days of Washington, and if it was not possible then to crop a photograph it is not possible now to turn out 55,000 voters when only 44,000 are registered—as happened in New York City a century ago. Every human enterprise, politics not least, has to survive human nature. And dirty politics probably will continue to thrive in that hospitable habitat—even when, like beauty, it is only in the eye of the beholder.

Physician, Heal Thyself

by Edward T. Chase

The doctor emerges at the outset of Mr. Gross' study as a complacent, professional provincial, arrogating to himself credit for advances that stem from scientific progress generally. The usual level of medical diagnosis is reported as atrocious, given today's tools and knowledge. Modern practice is characterized as assembly-line medicine, the patient victimized by a harassed physi-

The Doctors
by Martin Gross
(Random House; \$6.95)

cian who organizes his practice to maximize profit and, increasingly, to free his Wednesday afternoons, his evenings and his weekends for personal recreation. The image of the doctor as a scientist is demolished: he is prone to try all the latest drugs and his knowledge is ineffective since fragmented. The modern hospital is exposed as a high-cost citadel of negligence, disorganization, understaffing and patient exploitation. Iatrogenic, or so-called doctor-caused illness, from over-medication, incorrect medication, accidents, doctor ineptitude, is reported to be of virtually epidemic proportions.

The doctor viewed as a person is discovered to be a figure of declining prestige. Medical education is faulted on the grounds of its "failure to train doctors in sufficient quantity and quality, as clinicians, professionals and human beings." The professor's stress

upon research and theory, to the prejudice of teaching clinical medicine, has much to do with this, Mr. Gross reports. He views with alarm, as well he might, the disappearance of the family doctor who actually *cares* for an adult, and he demonstrates once again that the doctor shortage is approaching critical proportions. On the subject of the doctor's para-education through drug company detail men (salesmen), Mr. Gross is predictably scathing. His chapter on malpractice and on the doctors' "conspiracy of laxity" in failing to discipline within the profession palpitates with indignation.

The fourteen concluding pages are given to remedies; which would seem disproportionate in a closely set book of 570 pages, though Mr. Gross is free with advice for betterment throughout the text. His advice for righting matters consists principally in a scheme for federal subsidy for all medical students, free nonrepayable full tuition plus subsistence allowances. They are to be educated in 150 medical universities, instead of the current 87. To get these 63 new universities "requires merely the impetus of public concern," Mr. Gross suggests. But sheer increased quantity isn't his main point. Rather it is the belief that the free tuition and allowances for competitively selected students from all kinds of class backgrounds will result in humanistic doctors, men of compassion and philosophical perspective. Consistent with this

BOOK HUNTING? Any Book Located

No matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, all subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation. Write to—Dept. NEW BOOKS-ON-FILE

Union City

New Jersey

A handful of people like Mary Carnwath are trying to keep our promise to the Indians. But they won't make it without you.

The Hopi Indians' village of Shipaulovi in Arizona sits on land so poor, infertile and inhospitable that so far nobody has tried to take it away from them.

Electricity has not yet reached the Hopis. Water must be hauled from three miles away. Jobs are few and far away. Only poverty and despair are close-by and in abundance.

Yet for the first time in generations, Mary Carnwath and people like her are stirring hope among the Hopis.

Mary Carnwath works and lives two thousand miles away, in Manhattan. Her own daughter is now grown-up, and through *Save the Children Federation* she is sponsoring one of the village girls, 8-year-old Grace Mahtewa.

The Mahtewas (two parents, three children, one grandmother and a sister-in-law) live tightly packed in a tiny rock and mud house. The father who knows ranch work but can't find any most of the year, isn't able to provide the family with even the bare necessities.



Grace, bright, ambitious and industrious, would possibly have had to quit school as soon as she was old enough to do a day's work. But, because of Mary

Carnwath, that won't be necessary.

The \$12.50 a month contributed by Mary Carnwath is providing a remarkable number of things for Grace and her family.

Grace will have a chance to continue schooling. The family has been able to make its home a little more livable. And with the money left over, together with funds from other sponsors, the village has been able to renovate a dilapidated building for use as a village center. The center now has two manual sewing machines that are the beginnings of a small income-producing business. It's only a small beginning. More money and more people like Mary Carnwath are needed. With your help, perhaps this village program



will produce enough money to end the Hopi's need for help. That is what *Save the Children* is all about.

Although contributions are deductible, it's not a charity. The aim is not merely to buy one child a few hot meals, a warm coat and a new pair of shoes. Instead, your contribution is used to give the child, the family and the village a little boost that may be all they need to start helping themselves.

Sponsors are desperately needed for other American Indian children—who suffer the highest disease rate and who look forward to the shortest life span of any American group.

As a sponsor you will receive a photo of the child, regular reports on his progress and, if you wish, a chance to correspond with him and his family.

Mary Carnwath knows that she can't save the world for \$12.50 a month. Only a small corner of it. But, maybe that is the way to save the

world. If there are enough Mary Carnwaths. How about you?

Save the Children Federation is registered with the U.S. State Department Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, and a member of the International Union of Child Welfare. Financial statements and annual reports are available on request.

National Sponsors (partial list)

Faith Baldwin, Mrs. James Bryant Conant, Joan Crawford, Hon. James A. Farley, Jerry Lewis, Henry R. Luce, Frank Sinatra, Mrs. Earl Warren

Save The Children Federation

NORWALK, CONNECTICUT 06852

I WISH TO SPONSOR AN AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD. ENCLOSED IS MY FIRST PAYMENT OF:

☐ \$12.50 MONTHLY ☐ \$37.50 QUARTERLY
☐ \$75 SEMI-ANNUALLY ☐ \$150 ANNUALLY

I CAN'T SPONSOR A CHILD, BUT I'D LIKE TO HELP. ENCLOSED IS A CONTRIBUTION OF \$ _____

☐ SEND ME MORE INFORMATION.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE U.S. INCOME TAX DEDUCTIBLE

NR 10/8/6

THIS GREAT BOOK only 25c



As part of an educational campaign we will send you for only 25 cents plus only 10c for handling and postage charges—Thomas Paine's world-famous book *The Age of Reason*. This edition contains 180 pages and is complete and unexpurgated. Don't miss this rare opportunity to secure a copy of this masterpiece of logical thinking at this special low price.

THE THOMAS PAINE FOUNDATION—N.R. 10
257 West 38th Street, New York, N. Y. 10018
Here is my 25c plus 10c handling and postage charges.
Rush me *The Age of Reason*.

Name
Address
City State Zip

☐ If you wish a copy of *The Age of Reason Magazine*, containing irrefutable proof of Thomas Paine's authorship of the original draft of *The Declaration of Independence*, merely check and send only 25c extra.

☐ We have a limited number of Thomas Paine's complete works, in two (2) massive volumes, containing more than 2000 pages at the special reduced price of only \$6.00 a set. If wanted, check square and add \$6.00 to your remittance.

WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF

GAMES FOR THINKERS

WFF 'N PROOF: The GAME of MODERN LOGIC \$6.00 (plus \$5.50 postage and handling)

EQUATIONS: The GAME of CREATIVE MATHEMATICS \$3.00 (plus \$5.50 postage and handling)

ON-SETS: The GAME of SET THEORY \$4.00 (plus \$5.50 postage and handling)

PERFECT GIFTS FOR THOSE WHO ENJOY BRAIN TO BRAIN COMBAT

Box 71-HR New Haven, Conn.

Can you solve this problem?

- There are three numbered statements in this box.
- Two of these numbered statements are not true.
- The average increase in I.Q. scores of those who learn to play WFF 'N PROOF is more than 20 points

Is statement No. 3 true?

A NEW DIMENSION IN EDUCATIONAL GAMES
by Professor Layman E. Allen

Please send me ☐ **ON-SETS** ☐ **EQUATIONS** ☐ **WFF 'N PROOF**

I enclose \$ and understand that if I am not completely satisfied, I can return the games in 10 days for a full refund of the purchase price.

Name

Address

City State Zip

Refund and return privileges guaranteed!
Dealer Inquiries Invited

WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF

must come curricula reform reemphasizing clinical medicine. Then, to maintain quality of care, Mr. Gross advocates lifelong mandatory postgraduate education and periodic reexamination of doctors. He pleads for any devices that subject doctors to surveillance, to testing, to further training. (The book's gravest weakness is its ignoring of what prepaid group practice could do to achieve these ends.) For instance, he calls for every case of surgery to require an independent consultation. He urges medical review committees to supervise all practice in each local area

throughout the country, committees with teeth, including lay members, always anathema to the profession.

What is the likelihood of reforming the American health care system and of the adoption of Mr. Gross' expedients? Small, for the next decade at least. No authority exists to force reform. By a fateful paradox, the profession concerned with the most intimate and decisive questions of life, suffering and death is not organized as a public service but the exact opposite. One could say the medical "system" is not organized at all. It consists of small

business profit ventures by individual entrepreneurs. Doctors remain unreconstructed free enterprisers with an incomparably powerful trade association whose mission is to preserve them from organizational change.

Under the "system," the doctor is on his own to compete for his rewards, the patient to compete for the doctor's (monopolistic) services. As a result no overriding compunctions prevail to make a sufficiency of doctors practice in rural areas, nowadays so undermanned; or to minister to the urban underclass; or to concentrate on rehabilitative medicine or chronic illness as opposed to episodic illness and "emergency" medicine where the money is; or to improve the balance between specialists and general practitioners; or to prevent costly duplication of office equipment or redundancy in hospitals; or to increase ambulatory and home treatment; or to service nursing homes for the aged; or to bring about a modicum of equity in the distribution of psychiatrists relative to population needs; or to organize doctors into prepaid group practice to ensure the kind of surveillance of the doctor by his peers and ensure the practice of preventive medicine that Mr. Gross urges.

Indeed, the leverage of competition among doctors for financial gain and among patients to get doctors' services now in such short supply, functions magically so as to discourage all such reform. The truth, bitter perhaps but one would hope not too bitter for a devoted practitioner of the healing arts, is that the health care system must eventually be administered as a public utility or even as a government service.

An institutional framework may ultimately be devised to mediate between the doctors and the state, for example the way the private insurance companies now act as middlemen in handling Medicare claims. Mr. Gross himself suggests the possibility of a National Academy of Medicine, a quasi-public institution chartered by Congress, its chairman a presidential appointee, something like the Red Cross. The Academy would set standards, guidelines, plans for the development of a rational health care system and thus be "the first objective group to tackle forcefully some of the socioeconomic problems gnawing at medicine today."

Say No to Johnson's War with dollars & ballots

The November elections pose a test of confidence in Lyndon Johnson. Every vote cast for an opponent of the war in Viet Nam is a vote against the belligerent foreign policy of the Johnson administration and the deceptions with which it has undermined democratic institutions.

In Congressional districts around the country, a grass roots movement for peace is challenging the destructive consensus of the cold war; in many of these, electoral victory can now transform dissent into real political power.

Almost alone in Washington, a handful of Senators and Congressmen has been seeking to put the issues of this war before the people. They must be joined by others on all levels of government and throughout the country. This will not happen unless Americans care deeply enough to support "new politics" candidates against the "old politics" of military intervention abroad and racial and economic injustice at home.

The National Conference for New Politics is assisting issues-oriented liberals, peace and civil rights activists and anti-poverty organizations who are striving to win elections. It is a co-operative effort to provide financial, research and human resources to those candidacies and constituencies speaking clearly for peace and a full scale assault on the root causes of poverty. It is now abundantly clear that the cost of the war has doomed hopes of any meaningful attack on our slums and ghettos. We can no longer be satisfied with politicians who whisper sentiments for peace in private that they fear to utter in public.

In recent months the conference has con-

*"I happen to hold to
the point of view that it isn't
going to be too long
before the American people repudiate
our war in Southeast Asia."*

Senator Wayne Morse
Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing
February 17, 1966

tributed large sums of money and services to candidates in Alabama and Mississippi, New York and California and elsewhere across the nation. Particularly disheartening, however, were those close contests in which a few thousand dollars might have meant the difference between defeat and victory.

This time we want to make sure that pliant supporters of Lyndon Johnson's war do not go to Congress because the "new politics" of peace is short of funds. Moreover, we are convinced that growing numbers of Americans see the need to continue the efforts of political organization and education beyond the November elections, if our country is to turn back to the ways of peace and fulfill the long delayed promise of equality for all its citizens.

This is our opportunity to transform dissent into real political power. Send a contribution today to help elect public officials of conscience and courage who will not be manipulated into silence.

Please! Make your check payable to NCNP and mail it now.

National Conference for New Politics

Julian Bond

Simon Casady

National Co-Chairmen

The Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr.
Chaplain, Yale University

Benjamin Spock, M.D.
Pediatrician

Members NCNP National Board

National Conference for New Politics ^{NR}
250 West 57th Street, New York 10019

I enclose \$_____ for the '66 campaigns of
peace and civil rights candidates.

I pledge \$_____.

I wish to assist NCN's fund raising efforts. ☐

I wish to volunteer for campaign work. ☐

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

are you a unitarian universalist without knowing it?

- Do you believe that no one has the right to do your thinking for you?
- Do you believe that "religious truth" cannot be contrary to truth from other sources?
- Do you believe man is capable of self-improvement and is not condemned by "original sin"?
- Do you believe that practicing brotherhood is more important than parroting creeds?
- Do you believe in being actively concerned with community, national and world problems?
- Then you are professing Unitarian Universalist beliefs — and need not "believe alone." Send for 32-page illustrated booklet, "Introducing Unitarian Universalism."



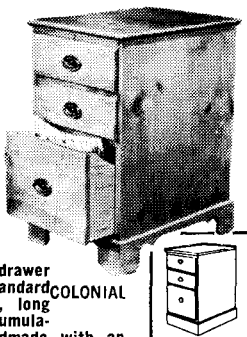
Mail this coupon with 25¢ to
LAYMEN'S LEAGUE (Unitarian Universalist)
Dept. R1, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02108

Name _____

Address _____

file-drawer table

16½"x22½"x28" h.
Why buy an ordinary end table... when you can have this handsome piece of furniture that doubles as a file chest, too! Now you can keep your valuable papers orderly, accessible... in a drawer deep enough for standard alphabetical guides, long enough for the accumulation of years. Handmade with antiqued hardware... dovetailed drawers ride on nylon glides. SPEC-IFY: 1 FILE DRAWER AND 2 SINGLE DRAWERS OR 2 FILE DRAWERS. A gift your efficient friend or husband will adore you for.



MODERN

KNOTTY PINE	\$31.95	TUPELO WOOD	
unfinished		unfinished	\$36.95
Pine finish	33.95	finished in Maple, Mahogany, Walnut	38.95

Colonial style (or Modern if specified)
Direct from our workshop to you
(Add \$3 for Legal Size: 18½"x22½"x28" high)
Prompt shipment. Express charges collect.
Satisfaction guaranteed.
Send check or money order.

Jeff Elliot Craftsmen

Dept. NR-106, Statesville, No. Carolina 28677

EUROPE

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS

255 Sequoia, Dept. N—Pasadena, California

The Creative Business

"My God, how do you account for that?" I muttered to a friend as the cab we were in went past long lines around Radio City Music Hall. "What do you mean, how do you account for it, lady?" the cab-driver demanded. "Everybody knows they never play a bad picture. In all the years, they've never played a bad picture at Radio City Music Hall." (The picture people were queuing up for was *The Singing Nun*.)

Most people seem to confuse whether a picture makes money with whether it's a good picture. There are people who assume that a heavily-publicized work must be good; and there are others, perhaps not quite so gullible, who, nevertheless, don't correlate the publicity with the result; they say people wouldn't be going to it if it wasn't good.

Perhaps increasingly, within the industry, the distinction is not made at all. What's good is what sells. Studio publicity men—aspiring producers—love to tell a critic how much money a picture he panned made, love the flourish of the conclusive put-down, "We must be doing something right."

Salesmen say "the public is always right" after they've sold them. Yet there is some unknown chemistry in the public consumption of "entertainment." The public doesn't *always* buy big pictures. There are films that seem to click at once, other films that, no matter how shrewd or heavy the campaign, just don't draw. And because there are fewer and fewer constant factors which explain success or failure, those who have out-guessed the market, the manipulators of public taste who have been lucky, are the new powers in Hollywood.

Early this year, a producer-writer who began by goading me with lucrative offers—first to ghostwrite a book for him on "a sensational idea" (which turned out to be a denunciation of Method acting), then to work up a treatment for him on "an exciting new idea" (which turned out to be a spy spoof with a female spy), and then to do a quick (three-week) rewrite on a

script he'd had sitting around for a decade—became rather hurt that I didn't rise to the bait. Puzzled at my refusals, he asked, "Don't you want to do something creative?"

I think that in his ambivalent way this man liked me, and wanted to do something for me, but, in show business, there's not much point in asking yourself if someone really likes you or if he just thinks you can be useful to him because there's no difference. In show business, the successes are likely to be those whose tastes depend on their projects; after a while, they may not know themselves what their tastes are. Besides, success develops a different kind of taste. The men in the movie business who can work regularly and who can talk publicly about their creative freedom are those whose fundamental aspirations (they really have no convictions) are the same as those of the studio heads—to be successful, to be acclaimed. It's no accident that even producers and exhibitors now talk about their creativity (which has come to mean their ability to make money and get publicity—their becoming celebrities) for they have the same drives and goals as the directors and many of the writers.

I doubt if the man who propositioned me had written a sentence in years: there was always someone (if not me, someone like me) to be hired for that, but these men make a sharp division between being a creative artist and anything else (like a critic) and they're so unself-critical that they can call themselves and think of themselves as artists—without irony.

Being creative includes knowing how to exploit other people's ideas or earlier work you remember; being creative justifies ignorance and ruthlessness, indifference to and finally even contempt for art. Being creative is having something to sell, or knowing how to sell something, or having sold something. It has taken over what we used to mean by being "wised-up," knowing the tricks, the short-cuts. Television producers "create" a new quiz show; ad-

vertising men talk about getting "the creative juices flowing." What they think is *creativity* is simply the excitement of success, the exhilaration of power.

It is in this kind of context that picture-making is considered a creative business. The contradictions and frustrations, and the enormous amount of self-interest and self-deception involved in this business may be gauged from the peculiar mixture of defensiveness and cynicism which movie people have about the results.

I used to think that those shrewd, energetic (and sometimes even intelligent) men who made lousy big commercial movies must be eaten up by guilt, self-disgust, and the desire to do something good. After all, didn't just about every one of them talk about how as soon as he got in the economic position to do what he really wanted, he was going to make the pictures he couldn't make now; "after two for the public I can afford to make one for myself" was almost a refrain. I thought they wouldn't try so hard to justify their current production of schlock on the basis of the future art this schlock was going to make possible if they weren't ashamed of what they were doing. And although I never believed that they would do what they said, I thought they believed it.

But things have changed in the last few years: the hypocrisy has become merely ritualistic. Yes, they might refer to their new picture as a piece of crap, but they really enjoyed what they were doing. Even before these men embraced McLuhan for turning them into prophets and pioneers of the modern age, it was becoming clear that they dig corruption. Despite their protestations about that future artistic pie in the sky, they enjoy the power of packaging something for the millions and they're contemptuous of something that reaches only a few thousand people—even though what the millions buy may be so readily consumed that it has no more effect than one more candy bar eaten by an adolescent already disfigured by acne, and even though the work that "fails" now because it appeals to only a few thousand or a half-million may add a few thousand more year by year, may perhaps be of lasting value.

What makes a man who is producing mass culture believe in it? This is the

conversation of a movie mogul, new style: "I'm quite success-oriented. I don't mean artistic success but commercial success. There's nothing I hate more than failure." That isn't some cringing little flunkey talking but a rich powerful multi-Oscared producer—a cringing *big* flunkey. And then, after telling me how important it was for him to be a celebrity, he said, in a humble, constricted little voice, "Maybe if I'd grown up in a society with different values, my values would be different. But I exist in a culture which venerates popular success." He went on to tell me about how he was "a suffering person" and how he had avoided reading a review of mine because he knew it would cause him pain; by then my flesh was beginning to crawl and I ended the interview. I am aware of protocol but I figured a man that masochistic is begging to forfeit his prerogatives.

The more powerful these men become, the more they explain themselves as victims of the system. Hollywood is that state of mind where men who make movies about brotherhood and the responsibility of the German people for Hitler and no-man-is-an-island can harass a critic and then ask to be consoled because "you're strong, you don't realize how weak I am."

They don't really accept any responsibility, not even for their own weakness. They use Freud to show they can't help it, just as they reach out for the most specious concepts of social science—"outer-directed," "success-oriented"—in order to justify what they are and do. They grabbed the words out of McLuhan's mouth and now they've got arguments to prove they were right not to care what they threw on the screen or filled television time with. They had been tuned in on the future. They have an instinct for what they can use—like "pop" and "camp"—which for them become ways of discounting any criticism as irrelevant to the "fun" movies they're making. They pollute American life and spread the pollution as far as possible—while buying estates in the least polluted spots in the world, not only for tax purposes but so that they and their children can escape the vulgarity of America.

There are some current films worth mentioning only for cautionary pur-

poses. *Kaleidoscope* (director, Jack Smight, with Warren Beatty and Susanah York), a smirking attempt at the suspense-comedy genre, is now at Radio City Music Hall and might give even that cab-driver second thoughts. As with *Arabesque*, the story seems to be invented for the sake of the title pun, but *Arabesque* was at least a stylishly empty set of embellishments on practically nothing, while *Kaleidoscope* can't sustain its little bit of conceit, can't manage even to be chic.

Kaleidoscope is what is now meant by a "fun" movie—which doesn't mean that you'll have fun seeing it but that you're not expected to think about it one way or another. A lot of the entertainment that is now called "swinging" is what we—I hope I may include you in this?—would once have called stupid. It's "swinging" to accept the worst of mass culture as if it had wonderful "dumb" qualities we weren't previously sophisticated enough to accept. Probably part of the explanation is that people are attempting to "get with" mass culture because it's so omnipresent they feel nothing can be done about it, so they might as well make the best of it by treating it as, after all, "fun." But to buy a heavy frolic like *Kaleidoscope* is to accept the role of consumer of entertainment—to accept, like that producer, the role of victim.

Not so bad as *Kaleidoscope* but bad enough, *Not With My Wife, You Don't* is Norman Panama's attempt to update the kind of service comedy in which Edmund Lowe and Victor McLaglen used to be rivals-scrapping-over-a-dame with Hollywood's new idea of "wild" visuals and "far-out" jokes. Tony Curtis and George C. Scott charge around like old kids.

Two more "fun" movies: Alfred Hitchcock's *Torn Curtain* is a slackly

What hope is there for the young Negro?

THE YOUNG NEGRO IN AMERICA: 1960-1980 by SAMUEL D. PROCTOR, former Special Assistant to Sargent Shriver asks: What's ahead in his education? In jobs, politics, social equality? How much should he rely on white friends? What must he do now for himself? \$3.95

ASSOCIATION PRESS. N.Y. 10007

edited, tired rehash of many of his old tricks, and they weren't all that good before. When you watch a sequence and think, "That was done better in *Suspicion*"—you're really stretching scholarship. William Wyler's *How to Steal a Million* is pleasant enough, like reading a sophisticated story in an old ladies' magazine while waiting for the dentist—but you wouldn't go there to read it.

Fantastic Voyage is worth a bit of discussion because it has been so overpraised. A miniaturized medical team going into the bloodstream of a scientist to destroy a blood clot on his brain, with sixty minutes for the journey and operation and getting out—the idea promised poetry, mystery, excitement, "with gun and camera up the alimentary canal." But Richard Fleischer and his crew have managed to make a standard, stereotyped adventure picture for the wholesome family "inside" the human body (a male body and the action doesn't go below the waist). No frontiers are crossed. You know you're not leaving the sod of Hollywood when

you hear the messenger come for the hero, Stephen Boyd, with the words, "Sorry to get you up so early" and the hero reply, "I thought I was on vacation. What's it all about?" Soon there's the usual little argument about whether to take the heroine, Raquel Welch, along: "A woman has no place on a mission like this," etc. And everybody who's ever seen an adventure movie or a science-fiction movie knows that of course they'll take her along because the picture needs a sex interest. And of course we know who the villainous saboteur is as soon as we hear one of the scientists spouting atheism, just as we know he's going to die horribly before the picture is over—because in family entertainment a man doesn't dirty-mouth God and live.

In a full page of *The New York Times*, the president of 20th-Century Fox, Darryl F. Zanuck, informs us that this picture "has moved me, for the first time in my career, personally to endorse a motion picture in an advertisement. In *Fantastic Voyage*, the imagination of Man and the magic of the camera are linked as never before, to offer stunning

proof of my cherished belief that the motion picture medium is the most potent entertainment form ever devised. . . ." There are touches of genius in the ad (examine the second sentence) but none in the script. "Just think," says Miss Welch, observing bodily processes, "we're the first ones to actually see it happen." Splitting that infinitive is about all the poor stiff of a girl gets to do in the movie.

The ingenious idea of *Fantastic Voyage* sets off reverberations in our minds. What has been done with it is to kill the reverberations by reducing the idea to commonplaces—the un-characters inside the body with their mouldy platitudes about man and the universe, and the medical and military men outside with their homey little ironies. "What a time to run out of sugar," says government-man Edmund O'Brien, like a "housewife" in a commercial.

The big sets are full of sweet little bubbles, shiny and clean. The interior of the body looks new and pretty and expensive, like a colored refrigerator. It's probably just because we're always conscious of the effects as effects, and

¡VIVA LA HUELGA!

NFWA

October marks the first anniversary of the Delano farm workers strike. A year of suffering, endurance, and hope!

Will you help the Delano workers to continue their struggle for justice and dignity?

Your contribution to the FARM WORKERS RELIEF FUND will provide for food, clothing, school expenses, medical facilities, and utility payments for the families who have sacrificed everything but their dignity.

¡Viva la huelga!

**FARM WORKERS RELIEF FUND
National Farm Workers Association
Box 130
Delano, California**

I am contributing \$

Name

Address

City

State

Zip code

because they don't involve us imaginatively that people admire them. The beauties and terrors of fantasy are in our imaginative assent to its seeming reality. These effects are so obviously made that they are cosy examples of Hollywood's banal technology. Six-and-a-half-million dollars worth of special effects that you keep noticing must be good, and there are the reviewers' comments in the ads: "A lavishly produced marvel made possible through the technical wizardry of Hollywood!", "Should sweep the Oscar field for special effects!", etc. Yet the process shots are so clumsily mated with the figures that the actors look as if a child has cut them out with a blunt scissors (an effect that might be witty in a different context.)

The quote from Bosley Crowther that heads the ads is, in its way, perfect: "A bubbly, fantastic quality you won't find this side of Disneyland." Right, but if you weren't intending to go to Disneyland looking for "fantasy," you may not be so pleased to find it "this side."

Perhaps a film like *Fantastic Voyage* succeeds commercially just because it initially excites you and then puts your fantastic thoughts to rest by showing you that the mysteries of the human body are no more mysterious than a trip through Disneyland.

Are there any American movies so far this year to see? Well, for a performance here and there or fragments or for some interesting content, there are a few. I'd cite *The Group*, *Lord Love a Duck*, *A Fine Madness*, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* And, just opening, there are two epics which I had fully expected to be terrible, which are, despite many weaknesses, considerable – indeed major – achievements, epics which do not treat the public as an ass. I'll take up *The Bible* and *Hawaii* next time.

PAULINE KAEI

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

C. D. B. Bryan, the author of *P. S. Wilkinson*, is at work on a new novel. Gerald Jonas is on the staff of *The New Yorker*. Tom Wicker is chief of the Washington Bureau of *The New York Times*. Edward T. Chase has written extensively about the American medical establishment.

Albee Decorates an Old House

Edward Albee's recent work poses a number of problems for the reviewer, one of them being that it is virtually impossible to discuss it without falling into repetition. Looking over the anthology of pieces I have written about his annual procession of plays, I discover that I am continually returning to two related points: that his plays have no internal validity and that they are

A Delicate Balance
by Edward Albee
(Martin Beck Theatre)

all heavily dependent upon the style of other dramatists. At the risk of boring the reader, I am forced to repeat these judgments about *A Delicate Balance*. The fourth in a series of disasters that Albee has been turning out since *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, this work, like its predecessors, suffers from a borrowed style and a hollow center. It also suggests that Albee's talent for reproduction has begun to fail him until the labels on his lendings are all but exposed to public view. Reviewers have already noted the stamp of T. S. Eliot on *A Delicate Balance* (a name tag that was somewhat more subtly imprinted on *Tiny Alice* as well), and it is quite true that Albee, like Eliot before him, is now trying to invest the conventional drawing room comedy with metaphysical significance. But where Eliot was usually impelled by a religious vision, Albee seems to be stimulated by mere artifice, and the result is emptiness, emptiness, emptiness.

A Delicate Balance is, to my mind, a very bad play – not as bad as *Malcolm*, which had a certain special awfulness all its own – but boring and trivial nevertheless. It is also the most remote of Albee's plays – so far removed from human experience, in fact, that one wonders if Albee is not letting his servants do his living for him. Although the action is supposed to take place in suburban America – in the living room and conservatory of an upper middle-class family – the environment is more that of the English landed gentry

as represented on the West End before the Osborne revolution. Leather-bound books sit on library shelves, elbowing copies of *Horizon*; brandy and anisette and martinis are constantly being decanted between, over, and under bits of dialogue; the help problem becomes an object of concern, as well as problems of friendship, marriage, sex, and the proper attitude to take towards pets; and characters discuss their relationships in a lapidary style as far from modern speech as the whistles of a dolphin.

The failure of the language, actually, is the most surprising failure of the play, especially since Albee's control of idiom has usually been his most confident feature. Here, on the other hand, banal analogies are forced to pass for wisdom: "Friendship is something like a marriage, is it not Tobias, for better or for worse?" The plot is signalled with all the subtlety of a railroad brakeman rerouting a train: "Julia is coming home. She is leaving Douglas which is no surprise to me." A relaxed idiom is continually sacrificed to clumsy grammatical accuracy: "You are a guest," observes one character, to which the other replies, "As you." If colloquialisms are spoken, they are invariably accompanied by self-conscious apologies: One character drinks "like the famous fish," while another observes, "You're copping out, as they say." Empty chatter is passed off as profound observation with the aid of irrelevant portentous subordinate clauses: "Time happens, I suppose, to people. Everything becomes too late fin-

COMMENTARY

WORLD'S BEST

MAGAZINE?

SEE FOR YOURSELF

☐ 7 Mo. Trial \$4.79

☐ 12 Mo. \$8.00

COMMENTARY, NR-25
165 East 56 St., NY, NY

☐ Bill me.
☐ Check enclosed.

Name.....
Address.....
Zip.....

Outside USA + \$1/yr.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Bruce Detwiler's article

A Time To Be Black

one to nine copies 20c each

10-24 18c each

25 or more 15c each

Send orders and payment to

The New Republic
1244 19th St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Changing address?

Send both

old and new addresses to

SUBSCRIPTION

DEPARTMENT

THE NEW REPUBLIC

381 WEST CENTER ST.

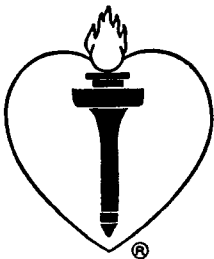
MARION, OHIO

Allow three weeks
for change to become effective

Your
Heart Fund
Fights

HEART ATTACK

STROKE

HIGH BLOOD
PRESSUREINBORN HEART
DEFECTS

ally." And the play ends with one of those vibrato rising sun lines familiar from at least a dozen such evenings: "Come now, we can begin the day."

It is clear that Albee has never heard such people talk, he has only read plays about them, and he has not retained enough from his reading to give his characters life. More surprisingly, he has not even borrowed creatively from his own work, for although a number of Albee's usual strategies are present in *A Delicate Balance*, they do not function with much cogency. One character, for example, tells of his difficulties with a cat that no longer loved him – a tale that recalls a similar tale about a dog in *The Zoo Story* – but here the narrative is no more than a sentimental recollection. Similarly, a dead child figures in this work, as in so many Albee plays, but it has no organic relevance to the action and seems introduced only to reveal the sexual hangups of the protagonists and to fill up time.

Too much of the play, in fact, seems purely decorative: There simply isn't enough material here to make up a full evening. *A Delicate Balance* concerns a family of four – a passive husband, an imperious wife, an alcoholic sister-in-law, and a much divorced daughter – whose problems are exacerbated when they are visited by some married friends. This couple has just experienced a nameless terror in their home, and when they move in on the family for comfort and security, a delicate balance is upset, all the characters learning that terror is infectious, like the plague. This plot has a nice touch of mystery about it, but its main consequence is to move various sexually estranged couples into each other's rooms after various impassioned dialogues. What finally puzzles the will is how very little Albee now thinks can make up a play: A few confessions, a few revelations, a little spookiness, and an emotional third act speech.

Alan Schneider's production is stiff and pedestrian. One senses discomfort in the staging as well as in the performances: These are not roles that actors fill with pleasure. Rosemary Murphy has some vigor as the alcoholic sister-in-law, coming on like one of those sardonic (male) drunks that used to appear in the plays of Philip Barry, but like the other performers, she has a difficult time recovering the portentous rhythms

of the play when she stumbles over a line. Hume Cronyn, usually one of our most dependable actors, is dry and uninteresting as the father; Jessica Tandy is delicate but high-pitched as the mother; and Marian Seldes as the daughter is vocally and physically angular. The director occasionally tries for an effect, as when he arranges four ladies with their coffee cups in the attitude of an Eliot chorus, but most of the time we are spared such tableaux and the stage is left as empty as the play. It is an emptiness that no amount of activity can fill. *A Delicate Balance* is an old house which an interior decorator has tried to furnish with reproductions and pieces bought at auction. But the house has never been lived in and the wind murmurs drily through its corridors.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Correspondence

Tax Those Profits

Sirs:

I read with great interest your editorial on "Tax Those Profits" (September 24). In this editorial you make the statement "Profits in five years have risen 67 percent, after tax; wages only 21 percent." In this article you also state, "The price increase (of steel products) was quite unjustified, for the net cost of producing steel had fallen."

The reason I was intrigued by your statement that profits in five years have risen 67 percent after taxes and wages only 21 percent is because years ago I anticipated that this was exactly what would happen. In 1960, in anticipation of such an increase in profits, I purchased 100 shares of US Steel Corporation at the price of \$81 a share. The dividend rate at that time was \$3 a share.

If profits after taxes, as you state, had risen 67 percent from 1960 to 1965, the stock of US Steel Corporation on an equivalent basis today would be worth \$135 a share. With a 67-percent increase in profits the dividend rate would be \$5 a share. You can imagine my surprise after reading your article this morning to find that US Steel common stock was selling at less than \$39 a share and that the dividend rate

which had been \$3 a share in 1960, had been reduced to \$2 a share in 1965. This means that at the present time instead of having a \$5,400 book profit on my purchase of US Steel, I have a \$4,200 book loss. What's worse, my dividend rate instead of going up 67 percent from 1960 to 1965, declined 33¹/₃ percent.

The difference between your statement about the increase in profits and what has actually been taking place at US Steel is so great that I decided that I had perhaps better look at the annual reports of US Steel to see if their profit figures agreed with yours. Imagine my surprise to discover that net profits at US Steel after taxes had not only failed to go up 67 percent from 1960 to 1965, but instead had declined from \$304.2 million to \$275.5 million. This is a percentage decline in net profits after taxes of 28.7 percent.

It is difficult for me to reconcile the difference between your implication that steel prices have been excessive and my own actual experience. Also, it is difficult for me to believe that an authority on wages and profits such as *The New Republic* would stoop to comparing increases in *total* profits with increases in *unit* wages when any moron who has ever taken a simple course in economics knows that it is impossible and erroneous to compare changes in the totals of anything with changes in the units of anything. Yet, your statement that *total* profits have gone up 67 percent while *unit* wages have increased only 21 percent is obviously such a comparison.

Ralph W. Ells
Chief Economist
Allen-Bradley Company

In reply:

Unit labor costs are an accepted economic indicator and according to Standard and Poor's industry surveys, steel has shared in the steady decline of labor costs since 1961. Annual steel earnings according to the same source averaged \$947 million 1963-65, compared with the 1960-62 average of \$690 million, and have further improved since. On August 5 the chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Gardner Ackley, described the recent steel price rise as "irresponsible" and was especially critical of US Steel.

THE EDITORS

Kauffmann, from page 20

what awkwardly establishes itself, then suddenly and astonishingly fans out in a huge sweep. Gunther decides that, in order to save his sick father's life, he must accomplish some seemingly impossible tasks. He is a voucher clerk in a big company. He sets himself the task of inducing his august boss to join a group of background vocalists doing the "wah-wahs" for a recording of a rock number called "Brazzaville Teen-ager." And Gunther must also persuade the recording company to permit it. Later he persuades his boss to toss flapjacks in a restaurant window. These ridiculous goals, the desperation with which Gunther proceeds, his manic intensity that finally convinces the angry boss, are simultaneously pathetic and grand. Gunther's father recovers. At last we realize that we have seen a grimy pop-culture version of the behavior of a Japanese samurai or an Athenian noble: performing some tasks at risk to himself so that the gods will think well of him, will grant him a favor and spare his father's life. And Friedman keeps the story in key; there is no last realization of nobility. The father grumps and complains, and Gunther, after they part, yells up the elevator shaft: "You son of a bitch, do you know what I had to go through to get you on your goddamned feet?"

Not all of the stories launch from earthly pads to outer space. And not all of them — particularly the last two — are successful. Sometimes one catches a glimpse of Ray Bradbury or James Thurber or John Collier hurrying by. But predominantly Friedman is fending — and fearing — for himself.

His protagonists, rich or poor, young or otherwise, tend to blend into one another in retrospect. He reserves individualizing touches for subsidiary characters, a flaw which, like the virtues mentioned earlier, he shares with some of his gifted contemporaries. But though the scale is limited, the matter is large. The successes among these 16 stories, which is to say most of them, are small bizarre offerings to forces that threaten all of us. One feels that the mere ritual of writing them has helped, momentarily at least, to mollify or perhaps entertain those spirits; and in so doing, the stories serve both the author and us.

What's I. F. Stone Been Saying Lately?

Here are some headlines from recent issues:

- On the Question of War Crimes in Vietnam
- Between Johnson's Yin and Mao's Yang
- The Hidden History of the Coming War in Thailand
- Why They Cry Black Power
- Half Dove, Half Hawk and Wholly Opportunist
(On Goodwin's speech to the ADA and Schlesinger's "Middle Way" proposals on the Vietnamese war)

You can still get* any or all of these issues free with a subscription now. Only \$5 a year. Check off the issues you'd like free and send in the subscription blank below.

You're missing a treat if you don't already subscribe to this independent and incisive weekly Washington newsletter, a unique 4-page publication packed with insight, wit and information you won't find elsewhere.

Name

Address

City State Zip

*Also still available on request with subscription:

- An 8-page Special debunking the Official Mythology of the Vietnamese War
- Reply to the White Paper on Vietnam

For an additional \$4.95 you can still get a copy of Stone's *The Haunted Fifties* (Random House) a collection of the best pieces from the first ten years of the Weekly. Just add \$4.95 and check here. ☐

I. F. Stone's Weekly
5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W.
Washington 15, D. C.
For the Independent Minded

SPECIAL WESTERN ISSUE. Collector's item. Symposium of Western American novelists. Essays on Western fiction and poetry. South Dakota Review, \$1.00 postpaid. Box 111, University Exchange, Vermillion, S.D. 57069.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS - All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

HUGE STOCK - Search Service. Infinite Books, Box 18229N, Cleveland, Ohio 44118.

"WRITING FANTASTICALLY GOOD" says a subscriber, of PANACHE Magazine's first issue. Just 65c brings over 60 pages of exciting fiction, verse - by Vivian Stack, other new writers. Or "Free Page" on postal brings sample. Staff-written. PANACHE, Rm. NR, 55 E. 87 Street, New York 10028.

THE IDLER. Lively, offbeat liberal monthly. Fun to read. Send \$2 for trial year's subscription. Idler, 413 6th St., N.E., Washington, D. C. 20002.

HAND-MADE X-MAS CARDS, sample pack 10c. Johnson, 528 Lakeview, Bayport, New York.

WORK WITH DISADVANTAGED CHICAGO CHILDREN. Educational-recreational program. Part-time (3-7 p.m. week-days) paid girls' worker and Negro male boys' worker. Also need long-term volunteers (room/board provided). Write Mrs. Sue Duncan, 4608 South Greenwood, Chicago, Illinois.

REMAILING SERVICE safe, reliable, for confidential or other, etc. Write for free information. MCS-NR, Box 278, Del Mar, Calif. 92014.

WORD TO THE ART WISE. Sculptor noted since 1929 sells figurative work at low direct purchase price. Special orders estimated. Photos, resume on request. Enid Bell, 701 Columbia Ave., N. Bergen, New Jersey.

YOUR INSTANT PERSONAL PICKET LINE. Six assorted anti-war buttons, \$1.00 postpaid, and free propaganda from: SPU, Five Beekman Street, New York, N. Y. 10038.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR for Argus, Northwest News Magazine, published in burgeoning Seattle. Top job for top newsman who can report objectively. Strong on politics-business. Argus, etc. 1894, offers remarkable opportunity for an effective voice in the fast growing Pacific Northwest. Politically independent. Ideal weather for outdoor summer and winter sports, outstanding cultural climate. Give full details, with clips. Write Publisher, Argus, 510 White-Henry-Stuart Bldg., Seattle, Washington 98101.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 25c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....25c
Per word 12 times in one contract year.....22c
Per word 24 times in one contract year.....20c
Per word 48 times in one contract year.....18c
Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for
Less Than 24 Insertions In One Year

THE NEW REPUBLIC

1244 19th St. N.W., Wash. 36, D. C.

CHESS SET FROM NIGERIA. Hand-carved. Extraordinary craftsmanship. Tribal motif. Inquiries: Alan Weiss, 1526 17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. (Ex Peace Corps Volunteer.)

"PLAY IT AGAIN, SAM." GIANT photo mural . . . typical "BOGIE" pose, (43" x 30") from one of his most famous movie roles, lithographed on poster stock . . . shipped in protective mailing tube. \$2.00 postpaid. Hudson Industries, Dept. NR-17, 116 Charles Street, New York, N. Y. 10014.

GIANT BULLFIGHT POSTERS FROM SPAIN - 7 1/2" x 3 1/4", \$6.95; 5 5/8" x 2 8/8", \$5.95. Bullfight Productions, 115 Sacramento Ave., Santa Cruz, California 95061.

EXCITING ORIGINAL GRAPHICS, contemporary foreign artists: woodcuts, etchings, lithos; by subscription \$3.50-\$7 each. Brochure: Graphic Circle (NR), 68 Fifth Ave., NYC 10011.

BUY THE CRAFTS OF FREEDOM from co-ops in Mississippi. Hand-crafted suede bags, candles, Negro and white stuffed dolls, charming calico dresses, and more, are available from our free mail order catalog. Liberty House, P. O. Box 3193, Jackson, Miss.

HARPSICHORD KIT-A superb, authentic, full toned instrument for home workshop assembly \$150. Same instrument as owned by Philadelphia Orchestra and RCA Victor. Also Clavichord kit, \$100. Free brochure. Please write: Zuckermann Harpsichords, Dept. P, 115 Christopher Street, N.Y.C. 14.

SABATHIL HARPSICHORDS unite authentic sound and modern reliability. Vancouver, Canada.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake, Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

ADULT DEGREE PROGRAM for men and women over 25 seeking liberal arts education. B.A. degree may be earned through series of six month study cycles combining two week seminars on campus twice yearly with independent study at home. Students may start in July, August, January or February. Write Box R, Adult Degree Program, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont.

POETRY WANTED for cooperative anthology. Include stamped envelope. Idlewild Publishing Company, 543 Frederick, San Francisco, California.

INDEX FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC Volume #154, January-June, 1966 available now. Please send ten cents to The New Republic, 1244 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036.

"WILL FORMS." Two will forms and book on wills. \$1.00 complete. National Forms, Box 48313-NR, Los Angeles 48, Calif.

SOCIALIST BOOKS - Literature, catalog, free. New York Labor News, Dept. R, 116 Nassau Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201.

"A CONSTITUTION FOR THE WORLD," 112 pp., by Center, Study Democratic Institutions, \$1.00 each, for wide distribution. To: Foster Parmelee, 63 East 9th St., New York 10003.

SILENCE THOSE AGGRESSIVE HUCKSTERS! - minimize commercial brain-washing! Silence commercials with simple device. Illustrated "do-it-yourself" instructions plus safety resistor, 25c; complete kit, including switch, wire and safety resistor, \$1.50 The Silencer, P.O. Box 106, Berkeley 1, California.

JOIN THE OHIM CLUB; MEMBERSHIP NOW OPEN. Lifetime Membership card with beautiful, gold-plated, hand-polished, membership pin. Can be used as tie tack, lapel pin, or dress ornament. Has that fine jewelry look. Nicely boxed conversation piece. Only \$1.00 ppd. Customcraft Creations, P. O. Box 1111, Dept. 108, Providence, Rhode Island 02901.

WHOLESALE. Human Hair Wigs. Custom Hair Pieces. Free Information. Gift eyelashes, \$1. Glennstyles, Box 174, Mamaroneck, N.Y.

STUDENTS: QUIT kidding around. "AGE 18 VOTE!" badges (1 1/4") 25c; bumper banners (15") 25c. Minimum order \$1.00. Collins, Box 2846-R, Santa Monica, California.

IF YOU FAVOR SIMPLICITY, dignity and economy in funeral arrangements, write Continental Association, Room 400 H, 59 East Van Buren, Chicago 60605.

21 WAYS TO SAVE ON YOUR PHONE BILL. Send \$1 to American Telephone Consumers Council, 1133-H Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10036.

INSTANT MENTAL TUNE-UP through healthful Yoga breathing! Easy, no contortions, use anywhere. \$1.00 compete. "Breath," 1884 Pandora, L.A., Calif. 90025.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING." Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free. Sleep-Learning Research Association, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

GLOBAL PHILOSOPHY FOR NONTHEISTS. Free information about international humanist movement. American Humanist Association, Dept. NR-16, Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Employers provide transportation and liberal vacations. Comprehensive new booklet, "Guide to Employment Abroad," covers all possibilities in sixty countries, all occupations. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions, English-language newspapers overseas, social work. Send \$1.00. Airmail 30c extra. Money-back guarantee. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York.

289 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 168 cities, 24 countries. Latest listing of excellent, inexpensive hotels. Prices, addresses. \$1.00. Voyager, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

RELAX AND ENJOY autumn, informal living, fishing, hunting. Lake Shore Farm, Northwood, N. H.

Printed by National Publishing Co.
301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

Why did half a million record collectors pay \$5 to join Record Club of America...

Compare the "Big 4" Record Clubs and see

when any other record club would have accepted them free?

	CLUB A (As Advertised in PLAYBOY January 1966)	CLUB B (As Advertised in McCALL'S February 1966)	CLUB C (As Advertised in PARADE January 16, 1966)	RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA
CAN YOU CHOOSE FROM ALL LABELS? INCLUDING THE LATEST RELEASES?	NO	NO	NO	YES! Choose any LP on any label! No exceptions! Over 300 different manufacturers including CAPITOL, COLUMBIA, RCA, VICTOR, ANGEL, LONDON, etc.
MUST YOU BUY A "MINIMUM" NUMBER OF RECORDS? HOW MANY?	6	8	2	NONE! No obligations! No yearly "quotas"! Take as many, as few, or no records at all if you so decide!
CAN YOU BUY ANY RECORD YOU WANT AT A DISCOUNT?	NO	NO	NO	ALWAYS! Your discounts are never less than 33 1/3% and are often as high as 75% — on every record you buy! No exceptions!
DO YOU EVER RECEIVE UNORDERED RECORDS?	YES	YES	YES	NEVER! There are no cards which you must return. Only the records you want are sent — and only when you ask us to send them.
HOW LONG MUST YOU WAIT FOR SELECTIONS TO ARRIVE?	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	NO LONG WAITS! Your order processed same day received.

AT LAST! A RECORD CLUB WITH NO "OBLIGATIONS"—ONLY BENEFITS!

This is the way YOU want it—a record club with no strings attached! Ordinary record clubs make you choose from just a few labels—usually their own labels! They make you buy 5, 6, or more records a year (at full price!) to fulfill your "obligation". And, if you forget to return their monthly card—they send you a record you don't want, and a bill for \$5.00 or \$6.00!

But Record Club of America Ends All That!

Now you can choose any LP...on any label. Take as many, or as few, or no records at all if you so decide. And you get discounts of at least 33 1/3%—and often up to 75%—on every album! That means you buy all \$3.79 and \$3.98 LP's at \$2.39; \$4.79 and \$4.98 LP's at \$2.99; and \$5.79 and \$5.98 LP's at just \$3.69, plus a small charge for postage and handling. To join mail coupon with check or money order for \$5. This entitles you to LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP in Record Club of America—and you never pay another club fee!

Look What You Get Immediately by Return Mail

- (1) LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP CARD, which guarantees you LP albums at dealer cost...guarantees you discounts of at least 33 1/3%—and as high as 75%—on every record you buy!
- (2) FREE 300-page Schwann Catalog to pick your records from. The Schwann Catalog is an independent publication listing all LP's available. Over 300 different labels, over 30,000 albums.
- (3) DISC® the Club's FREE magazine, which

regularly supplements Schwann's listings and keeps you informed of extra "double-discount" specials.

Your order PROCESSED SAME DAY we get it! No long waits. No monthly cards to return, so you are never shipped unordered records. Every record GUARANTEED brand new, first quality, factory fresh! You must be completely satisfied—or every record fully returnable!

Money Back Guarantee

If you aren't convinced our discounts are as big as we say (check us to the penny on this!)...that our range of selections is the biggest anywhere (over 30,000 albums every month!)...or even if you've simply changed your mind—return all items within 10 days and your membership fee will be refunded promptly and in full!

Over 600,000 music lovers — plus leading schools, libraries and other budget-wise institutions — now save money this sensible way through the only record club with no strings attached! Join now and save. Mail coupon to: Record Club of America, 1285 East Princess Street, York, Pa. 17405.

©1966 RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA, INC.

Your membership entitles you to buy or offer gift memberships to friends, relatives, neighbors for only \$2.50 each with full privileges. You can split the total between you: Your membership and one gift membership divided equally brings cost down to \$3.75 each. The more gift members you get—the more you save! See coupon for your big savings.



RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA LIFETIME MEMBER

The undersigned is a lifetime member of Record Club of America and is entitled to all records, all labels in the Schwann Catalog at guaranteed discounts of 33 1/3% to 75%.

Sign here 

(Not valid unless signed)

Membership No. NS 264 413

First (and only) LP record discount card. Good for all labels. Free with membership.

★ Choose any LP...on any label! No exceptions... Mono and Stereo — Including latest releases!

★ No "quotas" to buy! Take 0 records—or 100!

★ SAVE—never less than 33 1/3% off list... often up to 75%!

★ All orders processed same day received — no long waits!

★ Every record brand new, first quality, factory fresh — and guaranteed fully returnable!

TYPICAL "DOUBLE DISCOUNT" SALE

Sugg. List Price \$3.79 & \$3.98

BEST SELLERS ONLY \$1.89 & \$1.98

Tijuana Brass	Peter, Paul & Mary
Al Hirt	Sonny & Cher
Bill Cosby	The Supremes
Ferrante & Teicher	Henry Mancini
	The Righteous Bros.

Sugg. List Price \$4.79 & \$4.98

BEST SELLERS ONLY \$2.39 & \$2.49

Frank Sinatra	Birgit Nilsson
Arthur Fiedler	Ramsey Lewis
Getz-Gilberto	Segovia

Sugg. List Price \$4.98

Everest & Vox Classical Albums ONLY \$1.77

... plus more than 1/2 off on famous labels: Audio Fidelity, Command, Westminster, Roulette, Mercury, Angel, MGM, Verve, Deutsche Grammophon and others...

FREE!

300-page Schwann Catalog to pick your albums from when you join Record Club of America



RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA
1285 East Princess Street, York, Pa. 17405

X-951-L

Yes! Send me FREE 300-page Schwann Catalog to pick my records from, DISC®, and rush me my LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP CARD in Record Club of America. Enclosed is \$5 membership fee (never another club fee for the rest of my life), which entitles me to buy any LP in Schwann Catalog at discounts never less than 33 1/3% off and as high as 75% plus a small postage and handling charge. I understand I may take as many, or as few, or no records at all if I so choose. There is no yearly "quota". If for any reason whatever I am not completely delighted with the Club, I may return the items I have received within 10 days and receive a full refund of my membership fee!

☐ Yes! Add _____ GIFT MEMBERSHIPS at \$2.50 each to my request. If I join alone, I pay \$5. If I join with one friend and split the total, the cost is only \$3.75 each; with two friends, \$3.33 each; with three friends, \$3.13 each; with four friends, only \$3.00 each.

☐ I enclose \$_____ covering my \$5 lifetime membership and any gift memberships at \$2.50 each. I have listed on attached sheet the names and addresses of gift members.

Print Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Over 600,000 enthusiastic members including schools, libraries and other institutions.

ALL ORDERS PROCESSED SAME DAY RECEIVED. ALBUMS COME TO YOU FACTORY FRESH. YOUR SATISFACTION GUARANTEED OR ALL ALBUMS FULLY RETURNABLE.



545. VIET-NAM WITNESS By Bernard B. Fall. The evolution of our Viet-Nam crisis. "More useful than any other [book] to an understanding of the intricate issues." *Walter Millis.* \$6.95/\$5.80

444. MEDIEVAL HISTORY By Norman F. Cantor. Life and death of a grim yet colorful civilization. \$8.95/\$7.40

464. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION By G. O. Trevelyan. Now in one volume, edited by Richard B. Morris—the great work by one of the foremost British historians. \$10.00/\$6.95

101. HISTORY OF THE GERMAN GENERAL STAFF By Walter Goerlitz. Story of the world's most feared war machine, 1657-1945. \$7.50/\$5.95

489. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR By David C. Douglas. The Norman conquest of England and the extraordinary man who led it. "A first class contribution." *N. Y. Review of Books.* \$9.50/\$6.95

460. HITLER: A STUDY IN TYRANNY By Alan Bullock. Greatly expanded and revised in the light of new findings, this is the up-to-date edition—848 pages—of the definitive account of the career of the Nazi dictator, from his prosaic beginnings to his spectacular end amid the rubble of his defeated empire. \$10.00/\$6.95

543. ANCIENT EUROPE By Stuart Piggott. From 6000 B.C. to the Roman era, this fascinating survey traces the prehistory of barbarian Europe. 194 illustrations. \$7.50/\$6.15

425. THE TWO-OCEAN WAR By Samuel Eliot Morison. The U.S. Navy in World War Two. 736 stirring pages. \$15.00/\$9.95

176. BYZANTIUM By Charles Diehl. Study of the glittering Byzantine Empire and its 1000-year rule. \$8.50/\$6.95

524. THE PEACEMAKERS By Richard B. Morris. How fledgling America outmaneuvered the Great Powers to end the Revolution and win independence. \$10.00/\$7.95

538. THE GRAND CONVENTION By Clinton Rossiter. Masterly account of the year that literally "made" the American nation—1787, year of the Constitutional Convention. \$7.95/\$6.75

371. CIVIL WAR DICTIONARY By Mark M. Boatner III. Hundreds of little-known, fascinating facts come to light in this massive 974-page inventory of the Civil War. More than 4,000 entries cover military engagements, skirmishes, units, districts, as well as weapons, politics, issues and personalities. \$15.00/\$8.95

547. PREHISTORY OF EAST AFRICA By Sonia Cole. Fascinating summary of the newly expanding body of knowledge about mankind's earliest known ancestors. \$7.95/\$6.30

508. WASHING OF THE SPEARS By D. R. Morris. Proud and tragic history of the Zulu nation, its brief glory and its downfall in the Zulu War, 1879. \$12.00/\$7.95

542. KHRUSHCHEV: A CAREER By Edward Crankshaw. Lucid and informative account of his origins, his rise, his ignominious downfall. \$7.50/\$5.95

518. EXPERIENCE OF WAR By Kenneth S. Davis. Vivid re-creation of the "experience" of American participation in World War Two. "History in the grand manner." *Eric F. Goldman.* \$7.95/\$6.50

434. THE DOUGHBOYS: THE STORY OF THE AEF, 1917-18 By Laurence Stallings. How two million young Americans shipped to France helped make possible the winning of the war. \$7.95/\$6.50

536. THE FALL OF PARIS By Alistair Horne. From the Franco-Prussian War to the doomed revolt of the Paris Commune. "The best book on the subject." *A.L. Rowse.* \$6.95/\$5.75

494. RUSSIA AT WAR By Alexander Werth. 1941-45. "The best book we probably shall ever have in English on Russia at war." *William L. Shirer.* 1100 pages. \$10.00/\$7.50

529. LEE By Clifford Dowdey. New light on the Confederacy's noblest figure—tragic leader of a doomed cause. \$12.50/\$7.95

537. THE BILL OF RIGHTS By Irving Brant. A comprehensive and outspoken historical analysis of the struggle for civil liberties from Edward III to the Warren Court. \$7.50/\$5.95

439. FALL OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG By Edw. Crankshaw. The decay and fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. \$7.50/\$5.95

546. DE GAULLE: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY By Alexander Werth. A look at the General as Resistance leader, right-wing demagogue, "eternal rebel." \$7.50/\$5.95

391. THE PATRIOT CHIEFS By Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. The great American Indian nations and how they fell before the onslaught of the white man. \$6.50/\$5.50

445. RISE OF THE WEST By William H. McNeill. A monumental history of the human community since 6000 B.C. "Most lucid presentation . . . that I know." *Arnold Toynbee.* \$12.50/\$9.50

476. THE LIFE OF LENIN By Louis Fischer. The authoritative story—winner of the highly esteemed National Book Award. \$10.00/\$7.50

470. 20th CENTURY CHINA By O. Edmund Clubb. From the Manchus to Mao—hardheaded history by an experienced "China hand." \$7.95/\$5.95

528. ENGLISH HISTORY (1914-1945) By A.J.P. Taylor. Times of peace and war that reshaped the lives of a people. \$10.00/\$6.95

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB Stamford, Conn. 06904

Please open a Trial Membership for me and send the introductory package of books indicated below. Bill me 99¢ for the three. At the same time, send the membership book I have also indicated and bill me for it at the low Member's Price.

I understand that I may return the books within 2 weeks if I am not delighted with them and that their return will automatically cancel my membership. Otherwise I shall complete my Trial Membership by purchasing 4 more selections during the coming year from among more than 100 offered at money-saving Member's Prices in the monthly REVIEW. (A reply card is always enclosed with the REVIEW.)

Completion of my Trial Membership will entitle me to choose a Bonus Book for every 4 books I purchase thereafter. (NOTE: Bonus Books are shipped at the Club's expense; on all other shipments a small postage and packing charge is added.)

Fill in numbers of your three introductory books, 99¢ for all three

Fill in number of your choice at member's price

Mr. _____
Mrs. _____
Miss _____ (please print)

Address _____

City _____ State & Zip Code _____

In Canada, same savings. Shipment of books and all services will be handled within Canada. Bonus plan differs slightly.

NR 12S-FR